

# THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY  
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

SEPTEMBER 1941

VOLUME XXIII

NUMBER THREE

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Subscriptions for the ART BULLETIN should be sent to the College Art Association of America at 625 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. The price of the ART BULLETIN is three dollars a number, ten dollars a year.

Contributions and Books for Review should be addressed to the Editor of the ART BULLETIN, 508 Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. Before submitting manuscripts, authors are requested to consult the "Notes for Contributors" printed at the end of the March issue.

Entered as second-class matter October 24, 1925, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and June 18, 1940, at Menasha, Wisconsin, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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FIG. 1. Pablo Picasso: Portrait of Gertrude Stein, Oil, 1906



FIG. 2. Paris, Louvre: Negro Attacked by a Lion. Iberian Stone Bas-Relief from Osuna



FIG. 3. Pablo Picasso: Self Portrait, Oil, 1906



FIG. 4. Pablo Picasso: Portrait of Allan Stein, Gouache, 1906



# PICASSO AND IBERIAN SCULPTURE

BY JAMES JOHNSON SWEENEY

FOR many years it has been customary for writers on the work of Pablo Picasso to attribute to his encounter with African Negro sculpture certain unfamiliar features that began to appear in his work about 1906 or 1907. African Negro art is said to have caught the attention of the younger painters in Paris about 1905. Vlaminck and Derain were among the first amateurs in this field. Their lead was followed shortly by Matisse and others. About the same time in Germany a similar interest attracted the young painters of the Dresden *Brücke* group. It was not unreasonable, therefore, to conceive a possible affinity between these unfamiliar features of Picasso's work of 1907 and thereabouts and African Negro art on the basis of certain formal characteristics which appeared to afford a closer resemblance to that art than to any better-known source of inspiration.

In the spring of 1939, however, a statement by Picasso on the subject, reported by Christian Zervos in the second volume of his comprehensive catalogue of Picasso's work,<sup>1</sup> threw quite another light on the development. In discussing with Zervos his large 1906-1907 canvas *Les Femmes d'Alger* (Fig. 9), Picasso declared that the attribution of these forms to the influence of Negro art was inexact. He stated that at the time of painting this picture he had not yet made the acquaintance of African Negro art. On the other hand, he said that his interests, about that period, were intensely centered on Iberian sculpture, and there, if anywhere, was the source of inspiration of the new forms which were then beginning to appear in his work.

Zervos' report of Picasso's statement for the forthcoming volume reads as follows:

"On a toujours prétendu . . . que les figures des *Femmes d'Alger*<sup>2</sup> dérivent directement de l'art de la Côte d'Ivoire ou du Congo français. La source est inexacte. Picasso a puisé ses inspirations dans les sculptures ibériques de la collection du Louvre. En ce temps, dans le milieu de Picasso, on faisait un grand cas de ces sculptures, et l'on se souvient peut-être encore du vol d'une de ces pièces commises au Louvre, affaire à laquelle Apollinaire fut à tort mêlé. Picasso qui, dès cette époque n'admettait pas que l'on put se passer, sans niaiserie, du meilleur que nous offre l'art de l'antiquité, avait renouvelé dans une vision personnelle, les aspirations profondes et perdurables de la sculpture ibérique. Dans les éléments essentiels de cet art il trouvait l'appui nécessaire pour transgresser les prohibitions académiques, dépasser les mesures établies, remettre toute légalité esthétique en question.

"Ces temps derniers Picasso me confiait que la critique ne s'est donné la peine d'examiner son tableau d'une façon attentive. Frappée des ressemblances très nettes qui existent entre les *Femmes d'Alger* et les sculptures ibériques, notamment du point de vue de la construction générale des têtes, de la forme d'oreilles, du dessin des yeux, elle n'aurait pas se donné dans l'erreur de faire dériver ce tableau de la statuaire africaine. L'artiste m'a formellement certifié qu'à l'époque où il peignit les *Femmes d'Alger* il ignorait l'art de l'Afrique noire. C'est quelque temps plus tard qu'il en eut la révélation."

And when we look into the question of Iberian art and contemporary research in that field, we see at once a coincidence of dates which would tend to support the likelihood of a recently-awakened curiosity and interest on Picasso's part in this subject just antecedent to his painting the *Femmes d'Alger* in 1906 and 1907. We find that during the years 1903-1904, Pierre Paris published in Paris his *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, a work which still remains the best extant corpus of Iberian art. In 1903 excavations

1. Not yet published, because of the war; seen by the writer in proof.

2. The preparatory sketches for this work date from the winter of 1906-1907. The picture itself was completed in the spring of 1907.

were made at Osuna; and in 1906 the results were first published by Arthur Engel and Pierre Paris: *Un forteresse ibérique à Osuna*.<sup>3</sup> Also in 1906, José Ramón Mélida gave a definite reply to the suspicion of forgery that had met the original discovery of the Iberian sculptures at Cerro de los Santos in his complete published examination: *Las esculturas del Cerro de los Santos, cuestión de autenticidad*.<sup>4</sup> And in the same year H. W. Sanders published the first general résumé of the question of Iberian art to appear in English.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, in the summer of 1906, following a winter and spring in which he had been working on his famous portrait of Gertrude Stein, the same year in which the results of the excavations at Osuna were first published by Arthur Engel and Pierre Paris, Picasso made a trip to Spain. Miss Stein's autobiography tells us that Picasso completely painted out the face of her portrait before his departure and on his return to Paris repainted it entirely before his sitter had returned from her summer vacation in Italy.<sup>6</sup>

In repainting the portrait's face, Picasso gave it a formal, mask-like character in marked contrast to the rest of the picture, which he did not alter. And if we compare the features of this mask (Fig. 1), its "eyeballs larger than in life and with eyelids like the rim of a cup,"<sup>7</sup> the line of its mouth, the shape of its head, and the formalized treatment of its hairline and nose, with the same features in the Iberian bas-relief *Negro Attacked by a Lion* (Fig. 2) installed in the Musée du Louvre that same year, we see at once a resemblance that tends to support Picasso's assertion that in the years 1906 and 1907 his interests were keenly centered on Iberian sculpture.

The face, as we see it today, represents a wide departure in treatment from that of the rest of the painting. In the rest of the work we have the earlier, more conventional idiom in which Picasso began the picture in 1905, and which he evidently outgrew before the end of the long series of sittings described by Gertrude Stein. We may assume that the style in which Picasso first painted the face is fairly represented in the portrait gouache of Miss Stein's nephew, Allan Stein, painted in the first months of 1906 (Fig. 4).<sup>8</sup> However, the work on the Gertrude Stein portrait was long drawn out. And we already find in Picasso's *Self Portrait* (Fig. 3), painted later in the spring of 1906, an anticipation of the stylized features of the final Stein mask, perhaps not quite so severe, but with many points of resem-

3. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1906.

4. This had appeared serially in *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, VIII, 1903, 85-90; 470-85; IX, 1903, 140-48; 247-55; 365-72; X, 1904, 43-50; XI, 1904, 144-58; 276-87.

5. "Pre-Roman Bronze Votive Offerings from Despeñaperros in the Sierra Morena, Spain," *Archaeologia*, LX, 1906, 69-92.

As early as 1897, the Louvre had acquired what still remains its capital example of reputedly Iberian sculpture—the polychrome portrait-bust known as "The Lady of Elche." And in 1900, José Ramón Mélida published a long series of articles on the Antonio Vives collection of bronze votive figurines discovered at various Iberian sanctuaries (in the *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, IV, 1900, 27-32; 70-76; 154-64; 351-54; 404-10; 541-46; 624-27).

In other words, during the decade which immediately preceded the painting of Picasso's *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, the most rewarding research had been carried out in the field of Iberian art. During the same period the subject had received wide publicity both in Spain and France, thanks to the publication of the Osuna and Despeñaperros discoveries and to settlement of the question of forgery, which had obstinately recurred whenever pre-Roman Spanish art had been brought to light.

6. Cf. Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, New York, 1933. After a description of a series of sittings during the winter of 1905-1906, we read: "Spring was coming and the sittings were coming to an end. All of a sudden one day Picasso painted out the whole head. I can't see you any longer when I look, he said irritably. And so the picture was left like that."

"Nobody remembers being particularly disappointed or particularly annoyed at this ending to the long series of posings . . . Pablo and Fernande were going to Spain, she for the first time . . ." (pp. 64-65).

Then after a summer in Florence Miss Stein, according to her "biographer," came back to Paris: "... fairly full of excitement. In the first place she came back to her finished portrait. The day he returned from Spain Picasso sat down and out of his head painted the head in without having seen Gertrude Stein again. And when she saw it he and she were content. It was very strange but neither can remember at all what the head looked like when he painted it out . . ." (p. 70).

7. Pierson Dixon, *The Iberians of Spain*, London, 1940, p. 124.

8. Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso, 1, Œuvres de 1895 à 1906*, Paris, 1932, Pl. CLXVII.

blance to the same Osuna relief in the Louvre (Fig. 2) which the Stein mask appears to reflect. And in his late 1905 *Woman Combing her Hair* (Fig. 5), we have a still more precocious hint of the sharp-cut features associable with the general style of much Iberian art, especially the votive bronze offerings found at the great shrines of Castellar de Santisteban and Despeñaperros (Fig. 7).

Therefore, Picasso's trip to Spain in the summer of 1906 was apparently not the original stimulus to his interest in Iberian sculpture. This had probably been already awakened that spring by the Louvre bas-reliefs from Osuna. And in all likelihood the cruder formal idiom of Iberian votive bronzes had caught his attention even earlier, since Pierre Paris had treated these expressions at considerable length, both textually and by reproduction, in his two-volume *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, published in 1903-1904. But, as we have seen, it was in the spring of 1906 that Iberian art had received its widest publicity in Paris thanks to the installation of the Osuna sculptures in the Louvre. Picasso's visit to Spain in the summer of 1906 probably gave an added warmth to this enthusiasm for Iberian art. And on his return to Paris this new influence was undoubtedly more at liberty to work its way into his own expression, thanks to the absence of the sitter for the portrait on which he then went back to work.

When we recall the date at which this canvas was begun—the autumn of 1905—and the fact that Picasso in the course of its production had apparently become dissatisfied with a conventional mode of expression and turned to a primitive one for his formal idiom, another aspect of the attitude underlying this step begins to suggest itself. In it we have a hint of what was taking place in Picasso's aesthetic outlook at the time, and why his direction had taken the turn it did before the completion of this canvas.

In 1905 the Autumn Salon featuring the *Fauve* group centered attention of the young painters in Paris on non-orthodox expressions, preferably primitive in character, which would encourage no ostentation of mere skill or technical virtuosity. The *Fauve* Salon was of course only a culmination of a tendency. Already in the opening years of the century the trend had swung from the free rhythmic distortions of Gauguin and Van Gogh to broader, less naturalistic expressions. But the *Fauves'* productions now embodied a declaration, not of art's independence of nature, but rather of its independence of the conventional representation of nature. For sanction and inspiration these painters looked to exotic, primitive, and folk arts, just as Gauguin and his associates had at Pont-Aven fifteen years earlier when they were developing their free decorative and expressionistic rhythms.

In view of this general attitude among the younger painters of the time, it is not difficult to understand how the recently publicized discoveries and researches in the field of Iberian art would have appealed to Picasso. Unorthodox in formal idiom, these sculptures gave the impression of a complete disregard for any refinements of manual dexterity, much less technical virtuosity. Pierre Paris in 1904 saw this. And the patronizing tone in which he wrote of the Iberian votive bronzes was just philistine enough to tempt a young painter of the *Fauve* period in Paris to make use of those features he considered clumsy and barbaric: "... ils sont égaux en naïveté maladroite, et manquent tous au même degré du sens de la beauté plastique comme d'habileté manuelle."<sup>9</sup> Again, as early as 1888 these votive bronzes had been recognized by E. Hübner<sup>10</sup> as products, in all likelihood, of the oldest native art of the Spanish peninsula.

9. *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, II, 154.

10. *La arqueología de España*, Barcelona, 1888, p. 265.



And the fact that these expressions were a part of Picasso's racial background or national heritage had a further importance. For nationalist and racist coloring played a powerful role throughout Europe at this time.

In such an atmosphere of anti-aesthetic revolt and nationalism it is easy to understand how the discovery of an art such as the Iberian would appeal to a young man as keenly alert to what was going on about him as Picasso has always been. The *Fauve* Salon of 1905 possibly awakened, but more likely strengthened in him an interest in unconventionally distorted, even crudely expressive forms. Here was an unfamiliar primitive art from his own country, perhaps already known to Picasso, but brought emphatically to his attention by the installation of the Osuna sculpture in the Louvre in 1906. In it, he felt that he had found the real sanction for overstepping academic bounds in line with the *Fauves'* ambition to disregard conventional decorum and demonstrate the emptiness of the accepted aesthetic canons. As a foreigner in Paris, it would have been natural for him to be impressed by the unusual attention paid that spring to this art of his own country. In the summer of 1906, with the discussion of this indigenous expression still fresh in his mind, he undoubtedly sought out concrete examples visible in the various Spanish museums. Then on his return we see him repainting the mask of the *Gertrude Stein* portrait in a spirit quite different from that of the rest of the canvas and completely different in treatment from that of the *Allan Stein* gouache portrait, painted in the early months of 1906.

Another point of interest in connection with Picasso's change of stylistic approach in the course of painting the portrait of Gertrude Stein and the formal resemblances between the final mask and the sculptures from Osuna in the Louvre, is the fact that in 1905 Picasso took up modeling in the round. In that year the dealer Ambroise Vollard had a series of bronzes cast for him. His first essays were definitely in the line of Rodin, as is evident from the fluid forms, the lack of precise definition, and the vague delineation of individual constituent volumes in *La Coiffure* (Fig. 8). His paintings at the outset of this venture into the sculptural field were flat and quietly decorative. The similarity in form between his bronze *Tête de Fou*<sup>11</sup> and the gouache *Le Fou* of 1905<sup>12</sup> is very evident. The *Woman Combing her Hair*, 1905 (or early 1906?) (Fig. 5) is obviously inspired by the bronze *La Coiffure* of 1905 (Fig. 8). But in comparing the former pair we find a softness in the form of the gouache that suggests a close translation from one medium to another, whereas in the latter pair the painting shows a striking gain over the bronze: the firm contours, bold simplifications, and formal stylization of the oils make the bronze seem soft and uncertain by comparison. Then if we turn to a small Iberian votive bronze of the type represented by one from Despeñaperros, now in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid (Fig. 7), we feel a certain kinship with Picasso's painting in respect to clarity, definition, volume relationships, and perhaps even a naïveté which we do not find in Picasso's 1905 bronze, even though its subject is the same as that of the painting. In fact the relationships which we recognize between this painting of late 1905, or early 1906, and Iberian art suggest that Picasso's interest in three-dimensional expression, indicated by these 1905 essays in modeling, may have called his attention to the primitive bronzes from his own country.

We also perceive a distinct suggestion of classical influences in certain late 1905 canvases<sup>13</sup>—an elegance of line and the cool tones of fresco. Perhaps this was an echo of the influence of Puvis de Chavannes which had so strongly affected the *avant-garde* of the

11. Zervos, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. CXLVIII.

12. *Ibid.*, I, Pl. CXXV.

13. E.g. *ibid.*, I, Pl. CL.



FIG. 5. New York, Market: Picasso, Woman Combing her Hair, 1905-1906

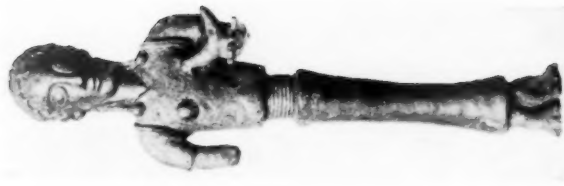


FIG. 6. Iberian Bronze from Santa Elena, Jaén



FIG. 7. Iberian Bronze from Despeñaperros



FIG. 8. Picasso: Woman Combing her Hair, Bronze, 1905





FIG. 9. New York, Museum of Modern Art: Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, Oil, 1906–1907



FIG. 10. Pablo Picasso: *Two Nudes*, Oil, 1906



FIG. 11. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional: Stone Figures from Cerro de los Santos, ca. 400–200 B.C.

'eighties and 'nineties in France. But it is also possible that Picasso, in looking for a classical tonic for the almost decadent formal delicacy which came to dominate his work in the late Rose Period, had had recourse to the collections in the Louvre. Even if the original stimulus was given by the work of Puvis de Chavannes, the actual classical figures in the Louvre may have been a spur to his interests in the emphatic suggestion of three-dimensionality which began to appear in his work perhaps late in 1905, and certainly in the spring of 1906. His acceptance of classical influences in all probability opened the door for a gradual transition to the more archaic, or provincially retarded, idiom of the Iberian bas-reliefs and cruder bronzes, just at the period when archaic Greek sculpture was beginning to receive an exaggerated homage after a long period of disregard in favor of classical Greek expression.

All these tendencies in Picasso's work of 1905 and 1906 are particularly well illustrated by his canvas *Two Nudes* (Fig. 10). Here we have the culmination of gradual change which, as Mr. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., points out,<sup>14</sup> had been taking place on the plane of sentiment from the bathos of the Blue Period through the comparatively impersonal masks of the *Gertrude Stein* and the *Self Portraits* of 1906. There had been a constantly increasing sculptural solidity of form in his figure style since 1905. And the *Two Nudes* painted in 1906 is the logical outgrowth of both these tendencies. In it we have a complete denial of sentiment that may even have its roots in the hieratic passivity of much of Iberian art, a flouting of conventional ideals of beauty in keeping with the *Fauve* attitudes of the period, and a concrete formal link with Iberian art in the squat proportions of its figures that recall such sculptures as those of Cerro de los Santos (Fig. 11).<sup>15</sup> The faces of the *Two Nudes*, however, are perhaps closer in appearance to the more indigenous types of the Iberian votive bronzes than to the heads of the Cerro de los Santos figures.

From such considerations it becomes evident that the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* of 1906-1907 (Fig. 9) does not represent any specific turning point in Picasso's work so much as a large-scale embodiment of various influences which had been working on the painter's expression up to this time. And in it we see the first organization of several different aspects of the Iberian figures into a single large composition.

The final version of the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* evolved from several widely varying studies. The male figure carrying a skull who enters on the left in the earlier studies has been replaced by a female figure pulling back the curtain. This figure, as Mr. Barr points out,<sup>16</sup> has a clear kinship with the left-hand figure of the *Two Nudes* (Fig. 10), "but more directly borrowed from an earlier composition of 1906" (Zervos, *op. cit.*, I, Pls. CLXV and CLXVI).<sup>17</sup> And while the figure, as taken over into the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, has lost much of its squatness, it has retained many of its other Iberian features. These are strikingly evident in all the figures in the composition, save perhaps the two farthest to the right. We readily remark a similarity in general construction of the heads to that in such Iberian examples as shown in Figures 6 and 7, a treatment of the eyes similar to that described by Pierson Dixon as characteristic of Iberian art, "larger than in life, with lids like the rim of a cup"; and a similarity in the form of the ears to that of the Osuna bas-relief in Figure 2.

14. *Picasso: Forty Years of his Art*, New York, 1939, p. 59.

15. In spite of the squat proportions of the figures in this canvas, the different treatment of the legs from that of African art has always militated against any full attribution of African Negro influence here, since the African figures almost universally give a squatting rather than "squat"

impression. For in African sculpture the knees of figures are almost universally slightly bent, and the buttocks are commonly steatopygous. Neither of these characteristics is evident in the *Two Nudes*.

16. *Op. cit.*, p. 60, discussion of Pls. 68, 69, 70.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

From this point onward we begin to see many different influences contributing in combination to Picasso's work. On the one hand the work of Cézanne began to open up new vistas of structural interest: the Autumn Salons of 1905 and 1906 each included ten of his oils; and the 1907 Salon gave a memorial exhibition of fifty-six of his pictures. It is also likely that Picasso made the acquaintance of Negro art very soon after painting *Les Femmes d'Alger*. In the statement reported by Zervos, Picasso merely says that the completion of that picture preceded his acquaintance with Negro art, and he admits he was very much impressed by African sculpture on his initial encounter with it. Yet even as late as 1907, in a canvas such as the *Woman in Yellow* (Fig. 15), we have another extremely assertive recrudescence of Iberian influence, perhaps an even clearer exemplification than in his earlier work. The pose of the *Woman in Yellow* is distinctly reminiscent of such a votive bronze as that from Despeñaperros (Fig. 14). In each we find a similar treatment of the eyes, nose, and ears, as well as a similar geometrical convention for rendering the hair. Still later, in Picasso's 1909 series of figures and heads (Figs. 12 and 13), we frequently find equally close resemblances to the drastic physiognomic simplifications of certain Iberian votive bronzes such as that reproduced in Figure 16.

That the reminiscences of Iberian sculpture in Picasso's work should be mistaken for influence of African Negro art is not strange. Stylistically these two idioms have much in common. In both we have a predominantly sculptural expression characterized by a primary interest in an organization of simplified volumes and broad surfaces with little regard for conventional naturalistic forms. It is no more strange that certain partially assimilated Iberian influences in the work of Picasso should be regarded as attributable to Hellenistic sources. For the art of the Iberian peoples, as we know it from what has come to light during excavations of the last seventy-five years, is mainly provincial and imitative. In it we may recognize three principal strains: an indigenous Iberian element, a Greek element, and an Oriental one. In the statuary the technique is usually Greek, the adornment commonly Oriental, and "the whole conception interpreted in a purely Iberian manner by artists who, ready to learn from Greeks and borrow from Carthaginians, adhered firmly to certain votive canons of art."<sup>18</sup> This mixture of Greek and Carthaginian influences is primarily due to the fact that the *floruit* of Iberian art as we know it coincided with that period in which Greece and Carthage, and later Greece again, controlled the western Mediterranean, in other words, between the middle of the sixth century and 200 B.C.

This belated Hellenic note is most assertive in Iberian stone sculpture. The bronze votive figurines found at the great sanctuaries offer a less mixed character. Possibly these were intended to portray the suppliants themselves rather than the priestesses. We may assume that the long faces and pronounced features found among the bronze figurines probably come much closer to portraiture than do the more ambitious stone carvings. "These latter, for example the statues of Cerro de los Santos, do not seem to aim at being realistic. They were probably intended to represent priestesses to whom a more abstract hieratic depiction was probably regarded as being due. As a result they are more like formal versions of early classical Greek models so far as the features are concerned." And "the same may be said of the sculptured reliefs from Osuna. Though at Osuna the native element is considerably more to the fore."<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, as Pierson Dixon points out,<sup>20</sup> the Iberian metal-founders sometimes

18. Pierson Dixon, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 110.



followed the styles of Greek artists so closely that the actual Greek model can be identified. In the statue called *Aphrodite with the Dove* from the Phocaeen colony of Massalia, or some similar piece of East Greek statuary, we may discern the prototype of the Iberian figure from Santa Elena, Jaén, of a female suppliant offering a dove (Fig. 6). In Iberian art we also frequently find a synthesis of oriental influences with a provincially degenerate classicism; in fact these features are so marked in the famous *Lady of Elche* in the Louvre that it has been regarded by certain critics as Cypriote. And whether the reason may be the possible community of ethnic roots or merely the result of a similar technical approach, many Iberian sculptures (for example, Fig. 16)<sup>21</sup> strikingly recall African Negro carvings, especially those of the Dogon region of the Upper Niger in Sudan. Occasionally there is even a reminiscence of the characteristic pear-shaped head of the Gabun region.<sup>22</sup>

However, the importance of Picasso's statement regarding the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* does not lie in the question whether that picture was influenced by Iberian or African Negro art. It is rather in the fact that here for the first time we are provided with a thoroughly defensible source of those archaistic sculptural influences which have always been recognized as marking his work of 1905 and 1906. The source of these influences was heretofore a subject of loose speculation. Now with Picasso's statement regarding Iberian art, and particularly his interest in those pieces from Osuna which were installed in the Louvre in 1906, we have the foundation for a sound attribution.

It is true that the masks of the two figures on the extreme right of the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* remain disturbingly dissimilar in form and treatment to the faces of the other figures in the composition and at the same time more reminiscent of certain Negro masks. In them we have two elements which differ as widely from the rest of the composition as does the final Stein mask from the rest of that portrait. In none of the compositional studies for the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* do we see a distinct indication of anticipated disparity of treatment between the masks of the two figures on the extreme right and the others in the picture. They all appear similarly conceived. We recall Picasso's statement that he did not encounter Negro sculpture until after the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* had been painted, but that his eventual encounter made a great impression on him. The *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, like the Stein portrait, was a long time in work; it undoubtedly remained in Picasso's atelier for a considerable while after completion. With Picasso's treatment of the Stein portrait in mind, might we not ask ourselves: is it possible that the key to the enigmatically negroid characteristics of the two right-hand masks, in spite of Picasso's statement to Zervos, might lie in an analogous treatment? Could Picasso have completed the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* along the lines of the various compositional sketches with which we are familiar, before having encountered African Negro art; then, after making the acquaintance of Negro art, could he have painted in the two masks on the right, much as he did the Stein mask on his return from Spain?

But that is a minor issue. Picasso's statement gives us the evidence that in 1906 he was interested in Iberian sculpture and in specific examples which we can locate in the Musée du Louvre. Again, through his testimony a new light is thrown on Picasso's curiously personal assimilation of the mixed primitivizing and nationalist *Fauve* influences, and the important results of these tendencies for his subsequent formal development. Through it we are provided with a solution of the long-standing enigma of the revised mask in the *Gertrude Stein*

21. Also Raymond Lantier, *Bronzes votifs ibériques*, Paris, 1935, Pl. XIII, figs. 153, 148, 149.

22. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII, no. 376.

portrait (Fig. 1), in the evident relationship between its stylized features and those of the Iberian bas-relief from Osuna, *Negro Attacked by a Lion* (Fig. 2) which was installed in the Louvre in the same year, 1906, and which Picasso claims caused such a stir at the time in his immediate circle. And finally, his statement points out to us a new source of formal inspiration in Picasso's work which is not limited to the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* but has periodically evinced itself in a more or less mixed, or attenuated form, from 1905 or thereabouts, down to the present day.<sup>23</sup>

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23. Compare the features of *Two Seated Women*, 1920 (Barr, *op. cit.*, Pl. 155) with those of Figure 2, and the plaster head in *The Studio*, 1925 (*op. cit.*, Pl. 192) with the *Bronze Warrior* from Despeñaperros (M. Aubert, *Nouvelle*

*histoire universelle de l'art*, Paris, 1932, 1, fig. 43); or Picasso's *Acrobat*, Jan. 18, 1930 with the Iberian *Acrobat* from Osuna in the Musée du Louvre.





FIG. 12. Picasso: Figure Study, Oil, 1909



FIG. 13. Picasso: Figure Study, Oil, 1909



FIG. 14. Iberian  
Votive Bronze



FIG. 15. Picasso: Woman in Yellow, Oil, 1907



FIG. 16. Iberian  
Votive Bronze

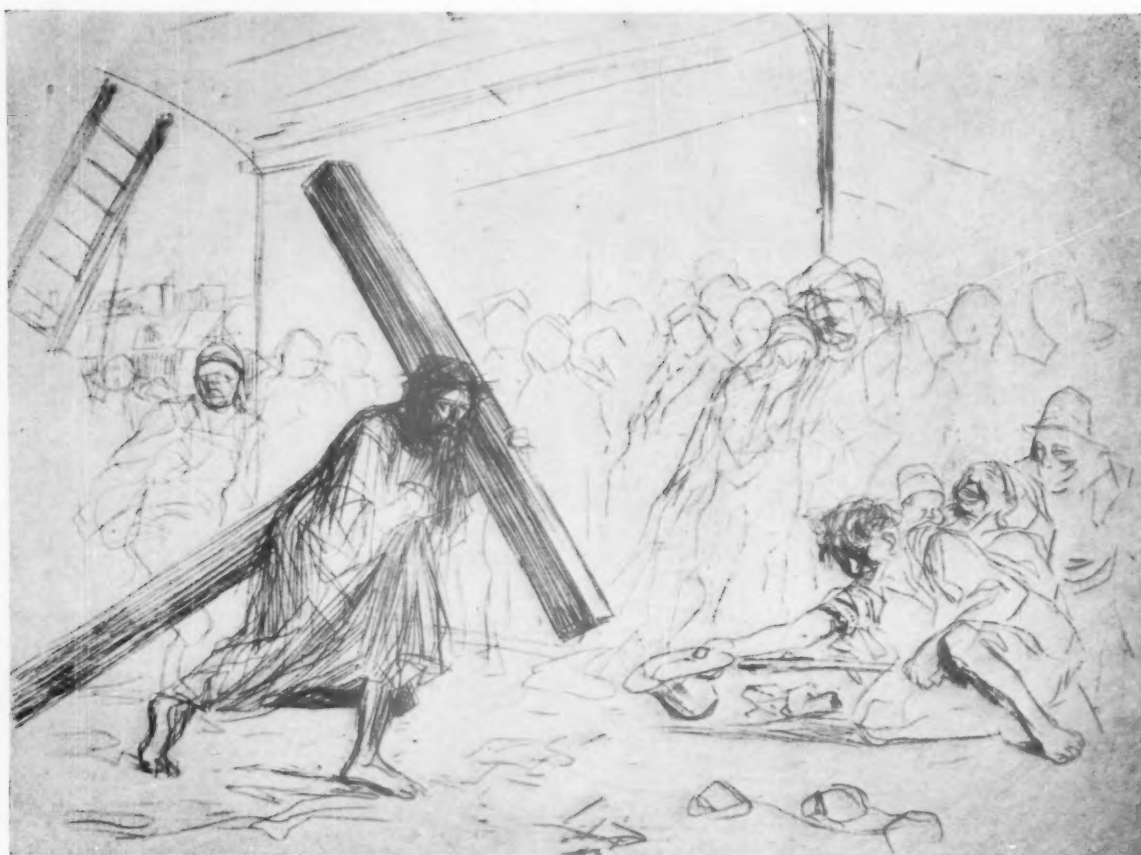


FIG. 1. Forain: Christ Carrying the Cross



FIG. 2. Forain: The Return from Calvary

# RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES ON THE ART OF JEAN-LOUIS FORAIN

BY JOSEPH C. SLOANE, JR.

ONE of the most significant characteristics of the development of modern European art has been the comparative absence of religious subject matter.<sup>1</sup> The reasons for this are not hard to find, and a gradual weakening of religious inspiration in the representational arts may be traced back to the Renaissance. The result has been to make really modern examples of biblical art seem rare and unusual. The work produced for the Church, though large in quantity, has been uniformly pale and lifeless, and has not attracted the attention of important or progressive artists. It is thus a matter of more than passing interest to find genuinely beautiful and profound pictures dealing with the themes which were once the mainstay of western art. The religious etchings and lithographs of Jean-Louis Forain constitute just such a body of material, and although they have already received the critical acclaim which is their due, little attention has been devoted to the problem of their origin. Exceptions are interesting in any period of art history, and this particular one contributes, by contrast, to an understanding of the course of modern art in general.

To one familiar with Forain's artistic career prior to 1909, the sudden appearance of a considerable number of New Testament subjects seems surprising,<sup>2</sup> yet the depth of feeling which they exhibit seems to rule out any explanation based upon a simple desire on the part of the artist to experiment in a field hitherto unexplored (Fig. 1). It is difficult to understand how a man who for over thirty years had been recording in biting terms the less admirable side of the lives of his fellow men, should suddenly have begun to produce scenes which unquestionably exhibit a very real and personal religious sentiment. Most critics have attributed this change to some new spiritual attitude and have gone no further, but the reasons for it can be at least partially set forth, and the explanation is important both for an understanding of Forain and of the age in which he was living.

Though judgments vary concerning the merit of his art, most critics agree that he had unusual insight into human nature, and it is this quality which makes his biblical scenes both moving and out of the ordinary. Customary religious iconography has been largely ignored in favor of a fresh and even naïve approach to each subject;<sup>3</sup> moments are chosen which are not those usually depicted, and yet they are so full of human significance that the spectator wonders why they have not been used oftener (Fig. 4). The *Supper at Emmaus* (Fig. 3) is a very old theme indeed, but Forain was the first to represent the moment just after Christ has vanished (Fig. 5). In the *Woman Taken in Adultery*, he does not show the scene where she is set before Jesus, but the cruel prelude in which she is haled along between two loutish captors, her feet dragging on the ground. *Le Calvaire* does not show the Cross, but the servants of Joseph of Arimathea coming to take down the dead Christ (Fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> It is this originality of approach combined with a very real mastery of the medium that makes

1. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, whose fine Forain collection was the inspiration for this paper, and also to Mr. F. B. Hubachek for material which would otherwise have been unobtainable.

2. However, his friends were apparently not astonished. Cf. Marcel Guérin, *J.-L. Forain aquafortiste*, Paris, 1912, p. v; also C. Dodgson, *Forain*, New York, 1936, p. 50.

3. Forain is at times indebted to Rembrandt, as in the case of some of the versions of *Retour de l'enfant prodigue* and *Repas à Emmaüs* (Fig. 3), a fact which has been frequently noted along with the influence of Daumier on his style at this period.

4. For a more detailed discussion of this scene see note 25.



these plates important and moving works of art, perhaps the finest that Forain produced in a very long career as a graphic artist. He had produced a few religious scenes previously, but they are not listed in Guérin's catalogue and apparently did not occupy much of his time. The great period of his religious inspiration occurred from 1909 to 1912, and though he painted some of these same themes after the war, the pictures seem to have been based on his earlier plates. Before the war all his religious works seem to have been either etchings, lithographs, or studies for the final plates.

Forain's reputation was made in the 'eighties as a draughtsman for the Parisian journals. His pictures dealt with the life of the day among many sorts of people—shopkeepers, ballet girls, "polite" society, demi-mondaines, waiters, gamblers, and a host of others, all of whom received the same merciless and penetrating treatment from his lithographic crayon.<sup>5</sup> In almost every case the treatment is harsh, acid, and uncompromising. His girls are bony with straggling hair, his men paunchy and leering. The entire atmosphere of the world represented in these scenes is one of a pessimistic skepticism which amounts at times to complete disillusionment. Claude Roger-Marx says: "Un pessimisme systématique, un anarchisme de principe, le plaisir de tout sacrifier à une boutade, voilà qui est dans l'air de 1880."<sup>6</sup> Forain himself, writing in 1889, said of his program: "Conter la vie de tous les jours, montrer le ridicule de certaines douleurs, la tristesse de bien des joies et constater rudement quelquefois par quelle façon hypocrite le vice tend à se manifester en nous."<sup>7</sup> His style and subject matter at this time show the definite influence of Degas and Toulouse-Lautrec, but his comment is always sharper than theirs and his cruel objectivity reveals a world without hope and unleavened by the nobler emotions.

The first critic to speak favorably of Forain's art was Joris-Karl Huysmans, who at that time was in the forefront of the naturalistic movement.<sup>8</sup> It is particularly interesting that at the moment when this praise was first forthcoming (1880) Forain was by no means the skilful draughtsman he was to become; in truth, his art showed very little promise of any kind. Nevertheless there was something in it which appealed to Huysmans—a feeling for the life of Paris in its most material and sensuous aspects. In his review of the "Exposition des Indépendants" in *L'art moderne* for 1883,<sup>9</sup> there is a description of a watercolor, seen in the Salon of the year before, representing a man, a woman, and a waiter in a *cabinet particulier* which shows that the critic had an instant appreciation of all the small touches, the little effects, which gave the scene its character—even to smells! "Comme elle sent, à plein nez, l'extrait concentré de boulevard, cette aquarelle dont la couleur s'anime et s'injecte de lumière, le soir . . . Eh bien! dans cette aquarelle comme dans une autre, dont je parlerai plus loin, M. Forain a résolu ce problème de suivre la vérité pas à pas. . . ."<sup>10</sup> The conclusion is inescapable that the art of this immature and relatively unknown artist struck a very responsive note in the author of *Marthe* (1876) and *Les croquis parisiens*. "M. Forain est l'un des peintres de la vie moderne les plus incisifs que je connaisse."<sup>11</sup> Forain, in fact, did the frontispiece for the first book and a series of plates for the second, though in neither

5. He made a number of etchings from 1873 to 1886 and then abandoned the medium until 1909.

6. Claude Roger-Marx in "Les peintres de la vie de société. I.—Forain," *L'amour de l'art*, III, 1933, 54.

7. Roger-Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 54. Quoted from *Fifre*, 1889.

8. See Gustave Geffroy, "J.-L. Forain. L'homme et l'œuvre," *L'art et les artistes*, N. S. IV, 1921-22, 54-58. The first mention of Forain appears in Huysmans' review of the

Salon of 1879.

9. Reprinted in J.-K. Huysmans, *L'art moderne*, ed. Crès, Paris, 1929, pp. 122 ff.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 124. The subject of the *cabinet particulier* had a strong appeal for Forain who did it over and over in various forms but always with the same atmosphere of cruel boredom and sleazy indecency.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

case were the results particularly happy. From this association, however, grew a friendship which was to last until Huysmans' death in 1907.

There is a striking similarity in the work of the two men at this period which in itself goes far toward explaining why their acquaintance turned to friendship. The seamy life that appealed to Forain held a fascination for Huysmans who made a thorough investigation of at least parts of it, mainly the more vicious ones, since, as he said later, "La vertu étant, il faut bien l'avouer, ici-bas une exception, était par cela même écartée du plan naturaliste. Ne possédant pas le concept catholique de la déchéance et de la tentation, nous ignorions de quels efforts, de quelles souffrances elle est issue; l'héroïsme de l'âme, victorieuse des embûches, nous échappait. . . . Restaient les vices."<sup>12</sup> This passage could easily apply to Forain as well. Huysmans was finally entirely disgusted with his own materialism and was stifled by the confines of a world of the senses that seemed to have no purpose or meaning. The book which most clearly sums up his final pessimism is *À Rebours*, whose famous hero, Des Esseintes, tried vainly to escape entirely into a fastness of his own devising, but was later forced back into the painful world outside. Since it was clear that Des Esseintes was, in large part, speaking for the author, one critic wrote: "Après un tel livre, il ne reste plus à l'auteur qu'à choisir entre la bouche d'un pistolet ou les pieds de la croix."<sup>13</sup> The accuracy of this judgment was amply borne out by Huysmans' subsequent conversion to Catholicism.<sup>14</sup> Although his later books dealt with more or less frankly religious subjects, the author was the same man as before, the difference being that his sensitivity was now directed toward different objects interpreted through a complex form of sensory symbolism. Through this approach he found the spiritual direction which his earlier life had lacked.

There is good reason to believe that Forain shared some of the pessimism which finally turned his friend toward the Church. Since no artist can be thus autobiographical, it is difficult to tell how extreme this feeling may have been, but from later remarks one can guess that he felt that his life at this time was not an altogether worthy one.<sup>15</sup>

A broad view of the art of the late nineteenth century shows a distinct turn away from naturalism and realism, a tendency to go beyond visual appearances or to retreat into a world of the imagination—even to get away physically from ordinary society altogether, as in the case of Gauguin. A distaste for representation as such first becomes marked at this time, and from it stems a whole host of movements which are commonly referred to as "modern" and which have a common characteristic in being very little concerned with ordinary visual experience. Although Forain's career covers a period from almost the beginning of Impressionism to the heyday of Surrealism, he never showed the slightest tendency to follow the new paths of anti-representationalism or metaphysical formalism. In his reminiscences he makes no real mention of the artists in these schools or of their work,<sup>16</sup> and certainly his own style shows no influence from theirs. On the contrary, at the time when Cubism was at its height, he was turning to Rembrandt and Daumier for a style capable of expressing his ideas about Christ, Lourdes, and the law courts. If modern artists found an escape from an overdose of materialism in fields where representation and

12. *À Rebours*, Paris, ed. Crès, 1929, "Préface écrite vingt ans après le roman," p. viii.

13. Barbey d'Aurévilly in *Le constitutionnel*, July 28, 1884. Quoted in Huysmans, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

14. Apparently Huysmans began to move in this direction at the time of writing *À Rebours* (1884), but the conversion was not complete until several years later.

15. See the letter quoted below, p. 203, from Forain to Huysmans: "... the dirty life of Paris which prevents you from pulling yourself together"; "I feel that it all hangs on the evil bent of my past life and the cowardice of my present one."

16. Léandre Vaillat, *En écoutant Forain*, Paris, 1929.



visual appearances were no longer preëminent, that escape was not for Forain. The question at once arises as to whether he needed an escape at all, either into another type of art altogether, or into a more genuinely religious life than one of merely routine orthodoxy, the course that had been chosen by his friend Huysmans.

The available evidence on the matter is scanty, and somewhat inconclusive, but it points to the fact that around the turn of the century he went through some form of religious experience which left a permanent mark upon his life, and, furthermore, that his guide and companion through at least a part of it was Huysmans.<sup>17</sup> It might be an exaggeration to say that it was a conversion, since apparently Forain had always been a practicing Catholic,<sup>18</sup> but at this time he apparently became deeply aware of some new religious conviction which, judging from his pictures, was more personal than orthodox.

On the day before Christmas in the year 1900, Huysmans, who was living in the town of Ligugé (Vienne) in very close association with the monks of the Benedictine monastery there, received a telegram from Forain saying that he was arriving that same day, a piece of news which, according to Paul Morisse, caused Huysmans to exclaim, "Qu'est-ce que cela signifie?"<sup>19</sup> The answer is contained in a letter from Huysmans to a friend written two days later: "Forain est arrivé et s'est confessé à P. Besse; il a communie dans la nuit de Noël. . . . Qui était à genoux derrière lui? Joris-Karl Huysmans et Louis le Cardonnel!"<sup>20</sup> From this it would seem that Forain came all the way from Paris to spend Christmas with his pious friend and attend mass and confession.

Following this visit came an exchange of letters which tell eloquently of the state of Forain's mind at this period:<sup>21</sup>

Huysmans to Forain:

Ligugé (Vienne), Maison Notre-Dame  
January, 1901

My dear friend,

I well understand your hesitations and the moments of blindness which come when one thinks that with the means at hand he must, so to speak, approach a new art. I have been through it, asking myself how the implement between my fingers could be used to write pages the exact opposite of those which I had written up to that time. For one must preserve one's implement, blunt it or sharpen it as need be, but keep it, otherwise nothing is possible. Fundamentally that slowly makes itself clear with the aid of prayers. Personally, I have found a great deal in the poor churches, at twilight, when there are only a few very humble people praying there. There one finds expressions of simplicity and of such a lively faith that they enrapture and truly help you. For basically, that which is called beauty does not exist in the sense in which we have so long understood it. Once in my life have I seen radiant beauty, divine beauty, the only one. It was a rather ugly woman who came to see me at my home one evening. I saw her for ten minutes and will never see her again, since the next day she entered a convent of strict observance.

For a moment I was involved by a priest in the life of this surprising creature. My friend, at my

17. A number of people seem to have suspected this, but as an old man Forain denied it. Cf. Vaillat, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90.

18. Marcel Guérin, *J.-L. Forain aquafortiste*, p. v.

19. Frédéric Lefèvre, *Entretiens sur J.-K. Huysmans*, Paris, 1931, p. 24. The anecdote is related by Paul Morisse, a friend who spent a whole year with Huysmans at Ligugé. The date given is December 24, 1901, but this seems to be an error, for Lucien Descaves, another friend of the writer and president of the Huysmans Club, says: "L'oblat, c'est Huysmans à Ligugé, de la fin de l'année 1899 à la fin du mois de septembre 1901" (*L'oblat* par J.-K. Huysmans, Paris, 1929, "Note," vol. II, p. 279). Since he too tells of Forain's presence at Christmas mass, it would have had to

be in 1900. Morisse, who was merely reminiscing at a meeting of the Huysmans Club, may easily have made the mistake.

20. L. Descaves, *op. cit.*, p. 280. Louis le Cardonnel was a poet of some note, a friend of Mallarmé, who, in 1896, became a priest (apparently another conversion) and in 1900 entered as a novice into the Benedictine monastery at Ligugé.

21. These letters are translated from the French text, printed in Vaillat, *op. cit.*, facsimile beginning after p. 190, and pp. 191-98. The letters are there given in the wrong order, since the letter from Forain to Huysmans logically comes between the other two. The correct sequence is given by the heading dates as well as the contents of the letters themselves.

house she spoke to me of the joy of sacrifice, the happiness of suffering—and this woman who was so ugly was radiant. Her eyes became indescribable, but how put that into words? True beauty is not in forms, in features, since a surge of the soul changes them; religion ennobles everything. I have sometimes seen the heaving shoulders of women weeping at Notre-Dame-des-Victoires. Nothing was more moving. What pictorial dramas would equal this movement of grief imploring the Virgin?

Patience is necessary . . . wait. The good Le Cardonnell with whom I have talked this over prays to this end at mass. You can certainly believe one thing, that is that if God has *brought you back to Him*,<sup>22</sup> as He has done for me, it is in order that, according to the limits of our humble powers, we may be useful to Him; so He will give you the means as He has to me. We can only be of some use to Him in art, therefore He will help us and put us in a position to accomplish our work of thankfulness and expiation. Think of art as a lever, just the force which is lacking in the Church; whether its unhappy children understand it or not is of little consequence. It is a force, it converts more easily than the discourse of a preacher in the pulpit. Do we know exactly, ourselves, what germs of faith certain primitive pictures have been able to inoculate in us? But, you will say, all that doesn't show me the path to follow. Ah! no, that is beyond us. Pray and you will be helped. It is not by human means that you will be given the formula. It is very certain that in anticipation of the evil times through which we are going, and the worse ones, perhaps, which we shall see, *God makes the wind of conversion blow and prepares defenders*.<sup>23</sup> It is not, surely, in order to abandon them. This observation alone ought to give courage.

Nothing new here, except a magnificent celebration of Epiphany, with dinner in the cloister to eat the traditional cake pontifically blessed at mass. The celebration was a little spoiled by a terrible, fierce cold. In the early morning I walked down in the darkness under a sky full of stars, but how cold they were!

I work like a maniac from six in the morning to nine at night, only taking time off for meals and services. Ligugé is empty. Father Serre is in Paris, *perhaps you have already seen him*? The Leclaires are still at Vincennes. I live in the most complete solitude. It reminds me a little of my time—the best of my life even though I suffered martyrdom there—at La Trappe.<sup>24</sup>

Goodbye, dear friend, be of good courage, pray for me as I pray for you and very affectionately,  
HUYSMANS.

These are clearly words from one who knows the blessings of conversion to a friend who is in the throes of the doubt and despair which seem to attend the passage over into this new state. The letter obviously indicates that the two had discussed these problems earlier, perhaps when Forain was in Ligugé at Christmas time, and also implies that Huysmans had a full and intimate knowledge of his friend's aspirations and uncertainties. It is also clear that Forain had the definite intention of devoting at least a part of his art to the service of religion—a new and uncharted path for it. The answering letter corroborates this and shows the artist already struggling with a specific problem in the new field:

February 24, 1901

My dear Huysmans,

Every day I think of writing to you and have been hindered by my daily work and above all by the dirty life of Paris which prevents you from pulling yourself together, which makes you believe you will be bored if you don't lead it. I have looked for a religious picture but I haven't yet been able to arrive at the composing of it as I wish and feel it ought to be.

I would like to do the departure of the Holy Virgin after the Entombment. I imagine that everything being finished, she withdraws accompanied by St. John and the Holy Women, and the henchmen or workers of Joseph of Arimathea greet her and uncover as she passes. . . .

22. The italics used in the letters are those of the present writer.

23. Undoubtedly a reference to the current conflict between the Catholic Church and the Third Republic. The "congregations" were put under the authority of the government, and, under the ministry of Emile Combes, in 1903

a number of orders were forced to dissolve, among them the one at Ligugé with which Huysmans had been so closely associated.

24. Huysmans had entered this monastery for a rather brief period in 1892.

I will see in what effect, in what atmosphere, in what tonality that ought to be done. But that is all. I see neither the style of the faces nor their expressions. It is there that I feel myself without power, without conviction, and very small, too inadequate, to conceive and bring to completion a work which ought to be so worthy, I dare not say, so beautiful.

*I feel that it all hangs on the evil bent of my past life and the cowardice of my present one.*

My dear Huysmans, pray and have prayers said that I may come out of it.

Yours very affectionately,

FORAIN.

Apparently Forain was still far from a final solution of his religious problem, but there is no question of his anxiety to find it, his dependence on Huysmans, or the humble and penitent frame of mind in which he was laboring. The plate illustrating this scene did not appear until 1909 and it is astonishing that the idea remained in his mind for such a long period without finding expression. Guérin speaks of an earlier version,<sup>25</sup> but gives no date and does not list or reproduce it in any of the volumes of his catalogue, so it is impossible to judge whether or not a version was produced at the time the letter was written, or at least shortly thereafter. Even if such an earlier version was made, there is no doubt of the fact that the famous group of biblical scenes, of which the extant *Calvaire* is one, was not produced until eight years later, a delay which is peculiar but for which a possible explanation will be given later.

The last letter in this series is Huysmans' reply giving encouragement to the worried artist:

Ligugé, Maison Notre-Dame

March 1, 1901

My dear friend,

Your idea seems very good to me of the greeting of the workmen to the mournful pilgrims who are leaving now that Jesus is in the tomb. The difficulty, you say, is to create the type of the Virgin.

Yes, it isn't easy, above all at that moment, for the Virgin has changed. If the Cross has taken her son from her, at the same time the Cross has borne her thousands of others. The word of Christ: "Woman, behold your son," has made of her, from that moment, the new Eve, the mother of many poor fellows and villains. The exchange is sinister and this maternity was the frightful compensation for the birth at Bethlehem which was painless, since it was not in the usual manner of those who have sinned.

But I think there is no need to occupy oneself with so many things which do not enter in the least into the domain of painting, and (I think) that one must go about it more simply. You can make the Virgin old or young, as you will, the two are equally true, naturally and symbolically. As for St. John, I find that the painter who up until now has rendered him best, for he has given him an expression of filial deference, very notable in its grief, is Quentin Metsys of Antwerp. It is worth studying. Braun has excellent photographs of it. Perhaps you may find a hint there, a springboard which will help you to make something different, of course, but just the same a springboard. I am certainly of your opinion on the subject of the Louvre. The religious feeling is uneasy there; one might believe that that is a result of the uprooting of these canvases, taken from their proper place in a chapel, but just the same, the Roger van der Weydens hold their own in a salon which has no resemblance to the

25. *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. v. Guérin is inclined to think that the Dreyfus case had been partly responsible for Forain's new attitude, but the actual troubles of the Church would be a more obvious external influence in 1901. A comparison of the finished plates with the description in the letter indicates that Forain changed his mind somewhat (Fig. 2). The group of the Virgin, St. John, and Mary Magdalen(?) has been reduced to a position of rather minor importance and, indeed, does not seem to be "passing" but standing still. In the later versions particularly, the workmen seem to be standing before the Cross, unseen at the

left, rather than following the movement of the Virgin. The man holding the ladder in the second plate, first state (Guérin 59), is looking *up*, as is also the Holy Woman at the left of the Virgin's group. These gestures are changed from the earlier versions and suggest that Christ is still on the Cross and the moment shown is that just before the *Descent*. It may also be noted that the ladder, which figures in several of the *Via Crucis* scenes, is also shown in some of the *Pietà* plates, and is represented as having been left leaning against the Cross.



atmosphere of a sanctuary. There is evidently something else there which is difficult to analyse.

As for the work you are contemplating, it won't be incubated in a day. There is nothing to do but wait and pray. The light will break some fine morning *like conversion*, you will have it one day at Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, which in all Paris is the church where one feels the projections of the soul, where one notices inadvertent and sometimes beautiful gestures. All that can't be invented, the chief thing is to prepare oneself for it as well as possible by prayer and to exercise the virtue, not easily acquired, of patience!

I am, at the moment, bewildered by a huge job on the proofs of my book on St. Lydwine; I eat it, I drink it, I sleep it. I only go to mass in the morning and shut myself up without budging until night. It'll go on like that, I am afraid, until the middle of April, supposing that they can bring it out on the 15th as Stock wants.

How disgusting to chew over again phrases which stagger, in the setting of a dead century, and to try to animate a saint whom, after all, one pictures rather poorly, although I have lived near her for a long time.

Well!

It is raining and almost mild. Le Cardonnel has had the grippe. Father Serre is well, *but he is going to answer you or has written you already*. The Leclaires all want to be remembered to you and I send you, dear friend, a warm handclasp—

HUYSMANS.

It would be interesting to have the further letters in this series but they do not seem to be obtainable, at least on this side of the Atlantic. The general nature of the situation, however, is clear, and by reading a little between the lines much more can be guessed at. The references to Father Serre point to the fact that Forain was receiving help from him as well as Huysmans, that the artist was actually going through an important and fundamental religious experience in which his friend played a considerable but probably not solitary part.

The etchings and lithographs under discussion began to appear in 1909, and were accompanied by an almost equally poignant series dealing with Lourdes. Forain told Vaillat that he had been there often, though he does not mention whether or not he ever accompanied Huysmans, who also went there a number of times.<sup>26</sup> The latter actually believed (erroneously) that his sight had been miraculously restored at the famous shrine, and his very last book was a series of sketches of the place for which Forain's plates might easily serve as illustrations. This parallel interest may be no more than a coincidence, but taken in conjunction with the religious subjects it may have some significance.

Huysmans died in 1907 after a long and painful illness, and there is little doubt that it was a real blow to Forain. It is hard to believe that the death of a man with whom he had apparently shared one of the most intimate and important moments of his life, should not have produced a very profound effect on the artist. It was only a little more than a year later that the religious plates were begun, and it is tempting to believe that they were a sort of memorial, or at least were called into being by the memory of his friend. It was in this same year that Forain also produced a posthumous portrait of Huysmans.

The war intervened to interrupt this phase of Forain's art, and he apparently gave all his energy to the service of his country, actually serving in the camouflage corps as well as producing a large number of lithographs of war subjects, many of them made from first-hand experience. Afterwards he seems to have lost the major part of his inventiveness and spent most of his time reworking the themes of his pre-war period. Religious subjects continued to interest him down to the time of his death, and Vaillat, who only knew him as a very old man, mentions sketches of such subjects on which the master was still working.<sup>27</sup>

26. Léandre Vaillat, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

In his later years he showed a marked piety, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that this attitude dates back to the events at the turn of the century.

It would appear, therefore, that in Forain's case the challenge of a sterile representationalism was met by a reaffirmation of religious belief, not so complete as to prohibit secular themes, but strong enough to give an inner direction to his life, which his more acid portrayal of bourgeois foibles had been powerless to supply. The unrest attendant upon the Dreyfus case, during which Forain took a violently anti-Semitic stand, the troubles of the religious orders, and the general social instability of France at the beginning of the new century were undoubtedly factors in this change, but the immediate influence was almost certainly that of his life-long friend. In this new and more profound attitude he was apparently content to remain aloof from the other solutions attempted by men a good deal farther toward the artistic left.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE





FIG. 4. The Road to Emmaus



FIG. 5. After the Apparition



FIG. 3. The Breaking of the Bread

FIGS. 3-5. FORAIN: THREE EPISODES OF THE APPEARANCE OF CHRIST TO THE PILGRIMS ON THE ROAD TO EMMAUS



Newton, Mass., Arthur Michael Collection: Illustrations of the Devadāruvana Mahātmya. Ivory Panels, Originally a Casket

# AN IVORY CASKET FROM SOUTHERN INDIA

BY ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

THE group of ivory panels described below is in the collection of Professor Arthur Michael, of Newton, Massachusetts. The four panels and decorative borders now remounted in a plush frame measuring over all  $10 \times 14\frac{3}{4}$  inches, shown on the accompanying plate, were originally parts of a casket. If we refer to the panels as now arranged as numbers one to four, counting from top to bottom, we may say that they formed the two long sides (nos. 3, 4), one end (no. 1) and the top (no. 2) of the original casket, of which only the other end panel and some parts of the borders and base are now missing. Our intention will be to explain the representations on the panels, as far as possible by reference to the corresponding texts. The panels themselves are of admirable workmanship, and unsurpassed by any other examples of South Indian ivory carving that have yet been published.

Bone and ivory boxes of this kind, and others of circular form, are well known from Ceylon and Southern India, and range in date from the seventeenth century, or possibly earlier, to the present day.<sup>1</sup> The Brahmanical theme of the present example, and the characteristic forms of the horned and bird-headed "lions" in the borders, show that it must be of South Indian origin. The admirable workmanship and the richness of the design, without any of that excessive relief and elaboration that are to be seen in more recent productions, suggest a dating not later than the earlier part of the seventeenth century; the architectural forms to be seen at the two ends of the first panel and in some of the other panels are those of the Nāyaka period (1600 onwards) in Madura.<sup>2</sup> The voluptuous forms which are so appropriate to the theme remind us of a long inheritance, of which the evidences are extant in the fact that some of the sculpture at Sāñcī (first century B.C.) was executed by "the ivory workers of Vidisā,"<sup>3</sup> in the wonderful Indian ivory lately found at Pompeii,<sup>4</sup> in the equally marvelous and luxurious ivories of Gupta date that have been found in Afghanistan,<sup>5</sup> and in many literary references to the uses of ivory in India.<sup>6</sup> The actual style of our ivory is ultimately Cālukyan; it may be compared to the best productions of the Tanjore school,

1. For Indian and Sinhalese ivories see my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, Campden, 1908, Ch. x and pls. xxxv-xl; *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, Edinburgh, 1913, Ch. 7; H. Goetz, "Geschnitzte Elfenbeinbüchsen aus Südindien," *Jahrb. As. Kunst*, 1925; Sir G. Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, 1904, pp. 172-93 (esp. 185-86); Vincent Smith, *History of Indian Art*, 1911, pp. 370-72; my *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 136; K. de B. Codrington, "Western Influences in India and Ceylon; a Group of Sinhalese Ivories," *Burlington Magazine*, lxx, 1931; W. Born, "Some Eastern Objects from the Hapsburg Collection," *Burlington Magazine*, lxxix, 1936 and "More Eastern Objects Formerly in the Hapsburg Collection," *ibid.*, lxxxv, 1939; V. Slomann, "Elfenbeinreliefs auf zwei Singhalesischen Schreinen des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Pantheon*, x, 1937 and xi, 1938 (incidentally, these boxes ought not to be called "shrines"); Ajit Ghose, "Some Old Indian Ivories," *Rupam*, xxxii, 1927; H. Cousens, "Excavations at Brāhmaṇābād-Mansūra, Sind," *Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep.*, 1908-1909 (ivory fragments, parts of furniture, pp. 85, 86); B. Thurston, *On the Ivory Carving Industry of South India*, Madras, 1901; G. G. Dutt, *Monograph on Ivory Carving in*

*Bengal*, Calcutta, 1901; T. P. Ellis, *Monograph on Ivory Carving in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1900; and others mentioned in subsequent notes.

2. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du sud de l'Inde*, Paris, 1914, pp. 66, 67; W. Norman Brown, *A Pillared Hall from a Temple at Madura*, Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 11, 13.

3. Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sāñcī*, Calcutta [1940], vol. 1, 95, 117, 121, 131, 153, 179, 259, 297.

4. A. Maiuri, "Statuetta eburnea di arte indiana a Pompei," *Le arti*, 1, 1938-39.

5. J. Hackin, *Mém. de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, ix, *Recherches archéologiques à Begram*, Paris, 1939; and "The 1939 Dig at Begram—II" in *Asia*, November 1940.

6. See my *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, p. 175; additional references include *Digha Nikāya*, ii, 291 (ivory turning), *Mahāvamsa*, xxxvii, 100 (King Jetṭhatissa described as skilled in the arts of ivory), and *Bṛhat Samhitā*, ii, Ch. 32 (wooden beds to be inlaid with ivory; the different qualities of ivory). Of the last-mentioned work I know only the translation by N. C. Iyer, in the *Aryan Miscellany, Samhita Series*, Madura, 1884.



or may have been made in Madura or in Mysore, or still more probably in Travancore, where the traditions of Indian art have been better preserved than anywhere else and where many fine and relatively early examples of Indian ivory work can still be found.

Our chief concern will be with the iconography. The theme is that of Śiva's dance in the Devadāruvana, alluded to in the *Tiruvāṇṇam* where Śiva is apostrophized as the "Supernal Dancer, who to Patañjali gave grace."<sup>7</sup> The many versions of the myth vary in detail, and taken collectively contain the explanation of a large part of the South Indian Śaiva iconography. Here we shall summarize from the various sources,<sup>8</sup> and mainly from the *Linga Purāṇa* and *Darpadalanam*, so much of the myth as is necessary for an explanation of the representations before us.

The abode of Śiva and his consort Pārvatī—the divine essence and divine nature—is on the summit of Mount Kailāsa; He is seated there with Her upon their common throne, or common vehicle the Bull Nandi, as may be seen in the central compartment of our second panel; this is an *Umāmaheśvara-mūrti* of the usual type, in which Śiva holds the axe (*paraśu*) and deer (*mrga*) in His upper hands, while the two normal hands are both in the pose of reassurance (*abhaya mudrā*).<sup>9</sup> The slopes of Mount Kailāsa, i.e. the Himālayas, the "Abode of Snow," are clothed by the Deodar Forest (*Devadāruvana*), which is the home of many families of Rishis, Brahmanical ascetics who are worshipers of Śiva but are wholly occupied in the performance of sacrificial rites.<sup>10</sup>

As Pārvatī is watching these earnest seekers for salvation, She pities them, and turning to Śiva asks Him how it is that these devotees have for so long been unable to obtain release and to find Him. He replies that it is because they are not yet at peace, but still affectible by love and wrath; they cannot cross over the sea of life to reach the farther shore so long as they can love and hate; whereas those who have freed themselves from passion and desire, even if they do not practice arduous rites, can attain to that imperishable state of real being.<sup>11</sup> So saying, Śiva descends from the Bull on which He has been seated and assumes the form of a nude mendicant, that of the *Bhikṣāṇa-mūrti*; and thus as a youth of extraordinary and incomparable beauty enters the Devadāruvana and passes through the Rishi settlements as any other religious mendicant might. There the wives and daughters of the Rishis are so overcome by His beauty, greater than that of the God of Love himself, that they lose all sense of shame, and letting their garments slip from their waists, follow and crowd about the lovely youth, singing and dancing and swooning for love. This is the subject of our third panel, where we see Śiva in His mendicant transformation in the center and the infatuated women on either side of, i.e. round about, Him. The mendicant deity

7. G. U. Pope, *The Tiruvāṇṇam*, Oxford, 1900, p. 16.

8. For these sources see G. U. Pope, *op. cit.*, pp. lxii-lxvii; R. Schmidt, "Kṣemendra's Darpadalanam," *Zeitschr. der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXIX, 1915, 45-51; W. Jahn, "Die Legende vom Devadāruvana," *ibid.*, pp. 529-57 and LXX, 1916, 301-320; P. Deussen, "Über das Devadāruvanam," *ibid.*, LXXI, 1917; F. D. K. Bosch, "Het Lingga-Heiligdom van Dinaja," *Tijdschr. v. h. K. Bataviaasch Genootschap v. Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, LXIV, Weltevreden, 1924; T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, 1916, 325-26 and 295-30. Some have seen a reference to the Devadāruvana myth in *Taittirīya Samhitā*, IV.5.5.6.

9. More often one of the normal hands is in the "generosity" pose (*varada mudrā*).

10. For a representation of Mount Kailāsa, with Śiva and Pārvatī enthroned above and Rishis seeking towards Him on the lower slopes, see my *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, Boston, v, *Rajput Painting*, pl. LVIII.

11. It is affirmed already in *Rgveda*, VIII.70.3 that God (here Indra) cannot be reached by works or sacrifices only. But neither the earlier nor the later Indian pronouncements of this kind are to be taken to be wholesale condemnations of the sacrificial and ritualistic practices themselves. What is meant, as we know from countless explicit texts, is that the fulfilment of the ritual and exoteric law without understanding and devotion can secure advantage in this world only; whereas the sacrifice performed with understanding and devotion, or even understood without performance, leads to the sacrificer's highest good both here and hereafter. It would indeed, as Kṛṣṇa says (*Bhagavad Gītā*, v.1 ff.) be absurd to think of renunciation and action, ritual and practice, as really opposed to one another and as having different fruits—"he who is duly established in one obtains the fruits of both." The Rishis of our myth were not in this sense "duly established" in their ritual and ascetic performance; they knew not Śiva because they had not escaped from nor overcome themselves or their senses.

is nude, and represented as walking; He holds the hour-glass drum (*ḍamaru*) in His upper right and the trident (*trisūla*) in his upper left hand,<sup>12</sup> while the normal right hand holds a flower to which the deer is reaching up, and the normal left holds a mendicant's skull-cup (*kapāla*).<sup>13</sup> He is accompanied by a pair of dwarf sprites (*bhūta*), members of His train (*gaṇa*); one of these is blowing a conch trumpet (*śaṅkha*), the other carries a tray of food. These *daīṃaves* are the Vedic Maruts and the "Breaths" or energies by and in which the immanent deity operates in living beings; in legitimate relation to their chief it is their function to support Him in every way, notably with their music and by supplying Him with the food with which He must be nourished when He passes over from being to becoming. Thus the iconography follows closely the prescriptions of the Āgamas and Śilpa-sāstras, and is the same as that of the many extant free-standing bronze or stone Bhikṣāṭana images.

The Rishis are infuriated by the behavior of their women, and pour out curses on the mendicant, who vanishes from them so that "they knew him not." The Rishis' whole scheme of life has been upset; they resort to Brahma, the Grandsire, and ask his advice. He tells them that it was the highest deity, "the *liṅga*-bearer, though He bears no *liṅga*,"<sup>14</sup> that has appeared to them in an assumed likeness. They might have entertained an angel unawares, but actually failed in the basic duty of hospitality due to any guest, whether welcome or unwelcome, and whatever his conduct. Now their only resource is humbly to resort to Śiva Himself; they are to worship the Śiva-*liṅgam*, and to realize that it is not by asceticism, rites, or mere learning, but only by Śiva's own Grace that He can be reached. When they have followed the Grandsire's advice for a year, Śiva appears amongst them once more in the form of a nude ascetic, holding fire-brands in His hands and singing and dancing; they honor Him, and ask His pardon for whatever they have done in deed, thought, or word against Him ignorantly. They abandon their asceticism and pray Śiva to appear to them in the form in which they had formerly known Him; He resumes accordingly His own, three-eyed form and gives them "the divine eye" by which they may see Him.

The mention of Śiva's dancing above must not be overlooked, for this dancing on His part is not a mere incident, but a cosmic epiphany and bound up with the whole doctrine of Śiva's form as Naṭarāja, to which we have already alluded above in mentioning Patañjali; and we must speak of this development, if only because three of Śiva's *Nṛtta-mūrtis* or Dancing Images are found on our panels. Before proceeding to Patañjali, it may be asked whether the mendicant form in which Śiva for the second time entered the Dāruvana was not essentially the same as of the Rishis themselves, and in this case whether the figures of dancing Rishis which are often met with in groups of sculptures representing our myth

12. It must be presumed that these divine attributes were not seen by the Rishis and their wives, since it is explicit that Śiva was not recognized.

13. The skull-cup is, strictly speaking, Brahmā's (see Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-305). Brahmā having claimed to have created the Universe solely by his own power, Śiva is said to have cut off the fifth head by which His own supremacy had been denied; Brahmā survives the temporary death with only four heads and acknowledges Śiva's supremacy. The decapitation, however, involves what is technically the sin of Brāhman-slaying (*brahmahatyā*), a sin that is necessarily incurred by every creative divinity in one way or another (e.g. by Indra when he slays Ahi-Vṛtra-Viśvarūpa), and this sin attaches to Śiva's form as Bhairava. Brahmā appoints for Śiva the penance of begging, using as a begging bowl the skull-cup made from the head that was cut off. This part of the legend explains the Bhikṣāṭana form in which Śiva enters the Devadāruvana as a mendicant. In

the meantime we are told that the sin of *brahmahatyā* in feminine form followed Śiva closely until at last he reached Vārāṇasī (Benares); and it would seem to be not implausible that it is really this sin rather than Bhadrakālī, as suggested above, that stands so close to the dancing Śiva in two of our representations.

14. One of the main motives in the whole myth is to explain the cosmic significance of the Śiva-*liṅgam* as a form of the *axis mundi* and to inculcate the worship of the *liṅgam* as supreme support of contemplation. We cannot enter into this subject here (see more fully F. D. K. Bosch, *loc. cit.*, where the fiery essence and royal significance of the *liṅgam* are specially discussed), except to remark that a conception of deity as a biunity of polar aspects, on the one hand virile and on the other impotent (i.e. *in actu et in potentia*, being and non-being, etc.), is often explicitly stated in the *Rgveda*, notably in VII.101.3: "He shapes His likeness as He will, now is He sterile, now progenitive."

are representations of Siva Himself, or of Rishis dancing with Him; either interpretation would accord with the Indian ways of thinking.

Now as to Patañjali, otherwise Ādi-śeṣa, the World-serpent, and literally "Original Residue," i.e. what is "left-over" when abstraction is made of all manifested existences,<sup>15</sup> we learn from the Koyil Purāṇam version of our myth<sup>16</sup> that Viṣṇu<sup>17</sup> and Ādi-śeṣa, who have been witnesses of Siva's dance in the Dāruvana, are left alone together when Siva returns to the summit of Mount Kailāsa, and that Ādi-śeṣa in particular is overcome with the longing to behold the dance again. In this version of the story, Siva's dance is one of triumph over the evil powers that have been embodied and sent against Him by the curses and incantations of the angry Rishis, and it is this aspect of Siva's dance that is depicted in the right-hand compartment of our second panel. Here His form is plainly still that of the nude mendicant, but He is now eight-armed, the two upper arms holding the axe and the deer (as in the central compartment of the same panel), while the two normal hands are in the characteristic pose that we are familiar with in the four-armed *Naṭarāja-mūrti*, of which there are many excellent examples in this country and also in Toronto.

The last of the evil forces projected by the Rishis against Siva was a black dwarf, who is the personification of ignorance (*aviṣṇai*, *avidyā*), darkness (*iruḷ=tamas*), dirt (*malam*)<sup>18</sup> and dust (*āṇavam*):<sup>19</sup> in the Sanskrit iconographies the dwarf is known as the *apasmāra-puruṣa*, the "inhibitor of recollection" or "principle of confusion." It is this earthy principle personified as a dwarf, and holding a shield and sword, that we see writhing prostrate beneath the weight of Siva's foot in the *ṇṭṭa-mūrti* in the right-hand compartment of our second panel, and in the same position in other *Naṭarāja* images. It is to the foot thus planted on that *pulvis, in quo formatur vestigium (pedis)*<sup>20</sup> that the weary Wayfarer, still involved in the causal nexus, resorts, while it is the lifted foot that ultimately sets him free.<sup>21</sup>

15. We cannot undertake a demonstration here that Śeṣa=Ananta=Ātman, Brahmā. In Vaiṣṇava iconography, Śeṣa is Viṣṇu's raft and couch when he lies floating on the sea of universal possibility; for this well-known iconography see Rao, *op. cit.*, 1, 90 ff.

16. See G. U. Pope, *loc. cit.*

17. In the Koyil Purāṇam version of the story, Pārvatī remains on Mount Kailāsa and Siva is accompanied in the Dāruvana by Viṣṇu in the feminine form of Mohinī, by whom the Rishis are bewildered and seduced, just as are their wives by Siva Himself. This association of Siva and Viṣṇu, as of persons of opposite sex, is by no means so strange as it may at first appear. We have its equivalent already in the Vedas in the *mixta persona* of Mitrāvaruṇau, which is actually that of a syzygy of conjoint principles, respectively male and female, so that when these persons are considered apart we can say that "Mitra inseminates Varuṇa." And this is at the same time a syzygy of Sacerdotum (*brahma*) and Regnum (*kṣatra*); a doctrine that underlies the whole Indian (and traditional) theory of government, in which the Regnum is always feminine and subordinated to the Sacerdotum. Now in the present case it is precisely Siva that represents the spiritual and Viṣṇu the royal power *in divinis*, and it is therefore quite in order that the latter should play the part of wife to the former. We are familiar with two types of dual images, the one known as Ardhanaṛiśvara (see Rao, *loc. cit.*, pp. 321-33), and the other Hari-Hara (*ibid.*, pp. 333-35). Of these the former represents the *mixta persona* of Siva and Pārvatī, the latter the *mixta persona* of Siva (Hara) and Viṣṇu (Hari), and we now see that these two representations are really equivalent to one another and both equally expressive of the indivisibility of essence and nature *in divinis*.

18. Sanskrit *malāpakarṣaṇa*, *mala-śuddhi*=Greek *ká-*

*θαρσις*.

19. *Āṇavam* (from Sanskrit *aṇu*) is literally "the atomic," or "infinitesimal," and hence in the present context "dust," cf. Sanskrit *aṇu-reṇu*, "cosmic dust" (MW). Dust (*reṇu*, *rajas*, etc.) in the Sanskrit sources is the material cause, as spirit is the formal cause, of all becoming; and just as in Eccl. 12: 7, at death "shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." That in our iconography the dust is literally "laid" reminds us both that the paths of the Gods are "dustless" and of the metaphor in *Jātaka*, vi.252, where by the teaching of the Law (*dhamma*), the "dust is laid" (*rajo-hato*) on the pilgrim's way.

20. St. Bonaventura, cited in Bissen, *L'exemplarisme divin de Saint Bonaventura*, 1929, pp. 70, 71; cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, i.178 and 184, *padam . . . ārañjitaṃ*, "footprint traced in the dust." On the *vestigium pedis* and the search for reality by a following up of its tracks, which forms the basis of the Indian adoration of the Lord's footprints, see my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, note 146, and remarks on *mārga* in the *New Indian Antiquary*, II, 1939, 576, note 2. Plato uses the simile of "tracking" (*ἵχνη*) in the same way.

21. This explanation of the "values" of the two feet is taken from the *Cidambara Mummaṇi Kōvai*. We have already seen that the left foot planted in the dust is for the Wayfarer's guidance; and it is clear that the raised right foot is the one that gives final release, because as we know from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, x.5.2.13 that while, for so long as we still live in the body, both feet of God are planted in the heart, but that when we die He separates these feet, that is to say raises one of them, in order to depart (*padāo . . . āchidyotkrāmati*, see *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, IV, 1939, pp. 164, 165); if, then, we have by following in



The small female figure standing to Śiva's left, and to be seen again with another dancing Śiva in the fourth panel, may be that of Bhadrakālī, a form or emanation of Pārvatī corresponding to Śiva's form as Vīrabhadra.<sup>22</sup> The *ṛtta-mūrti* of the fourth panel, just referred to, is that form of Śiva's dance that is called *Lalāṭa-tilaka*<sup>23</sup> or "Brow-ornament," its characteristic being that the right leg is raised vertically<sup>24</sup> as if to apply the *tilaka* to the forehead; ordinarily, of course, the hand is used for this purpose. The number of arms in figures of this class varies from four to sixteen; here there are ten. Bhadrakālī stands on Śiva's proper right. The smaller and male figure on Śiva's left, playing the drum, is four-armed, the two upper hands holding the axe and the deer, and thus in effect a miniature image of Śiva himself; it is actually that of the apostle Nandikeśvara, also known as Adhikāra-nandi.<sup>25</sup> This saint is a legitimate son and incarnation of Śiva, and therefore like Him; the divine filiation was acknowledged by Pārvatī, who smelt of his head while streams of milk poured from her breast.<sup>26</sup> In a theriomorphic and perhaps original form, Nandikeśvara is Nandi, the "Beatifier," Śiva's bull and vehicle, seen in the middle compartment of the second panel.<sup>27</sup>

Of the three other persons represented in the fourth panel, Viṣṇu on Śiva's proper right and Brahmā on His left are easily recognizable. Viṣṇu is four-armed, the upper hands holding the winged discus and winged conch, while with the normal hands he is playing on an hour-glass drum (*ḍhakka*) with a drum-stick (*bāṇa*). Brahmā is four-handed; the attributes held in the upper and lower left hands are not certainly identifiable; the right hand is in the "generosity" pose (*varada mudrā*); and as is often the case in reliefs, only three of the four heads are visible. The eight-armed dancing female figure on the right, whose upper right hand is raised and holding a bell (*ghaṇṭā*), is a form of Pārvatī, that is to say of the divine Nature (*prakṛti*), whose dancing reflects that of the divine Essence or Person (*puruṣa*), and it is evident that the whole composition corresponds to the description in the *Tiru-Aruḷ-Payan*, ix.3, "The dance of Nature proceeds at one side, that of Gnosis (*ñāna* = Sanskrit *jñāna*) on the other."<sup>28</sup> In all these compositions the background of verdure is no doubt a reference to the Deodar Forest in which the dances are manifested.

I am not able to give an equally precise account of the iconography of the dance represented in the first and smallest (side) panel. Śiva is four-armed, the upper arms holding ap-

His steps earned the right to answer "in Him" to the question asked in the *Praśna Upaniṣad*, vi.2, "In whom shall I be going forth when I go hence?" (i.e. "in myself," this mortal self, or "in Him," the immortal), it will be with Him that we take this last step. We mention these points in order to remind the student that the Indian (or any traditional) iconography is always precise and never fanciful, and that it can be trusted, if we try to understand it.

22. Rao, *loc. cit.*, II, 183, 186, 227. But see also note 13.

23. Rao, *loc. cit.*, II, 264-66 and pls. LXIV-LXV.

24. Known as the *ṛṣṭika* or "scorpion" pose, because it is like the raised tail of a scorpion, a resemblance quite apparent in our carving.

25. Rao, *loc. cit.*, II, 455-60 and pls. CXXXI, CXXXII.

26. For the acknowledgement of legitimate sonship by smelling the head see my "Sunkiss" in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, LX, 1940, 64 and note 39. It is a commonplace of Indian poetry and, I believe, a natural fact, that a mother's milk flows at the sight of a long-lost son, even if adult. In the present case Nandikeśvara's head is anointed by the milk. More often divine filiation is attested or effected by an actual drinking of the milk by the king, hero, or saint who is or is made a "true son of God": for the cases of Hercules and Juno, and St. Bernard and the Virgin Mary, see my

"The Virgin Suckling St. Bernard" in the *ART BULLETIN*, XIX, 1937, 317-18 and "La voie lactée" in *Études traditionnelles*, XLIII, 1938, 175-76; for that of the Pharaohs and Isis: Moret, "Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique," *Ann. du Musée Guimet*, xv, 1902, 64, 65, 222, figs. 10, 62, and *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, 1927, p. 102.

27. The bull is a very common type on the Indus Valley seals and on the earliest Indian coins, and may always have been a symbol of Śiva, though many other deities and heroes can be and are referred to as "bulls." The bull emblem on the coins of the city of Puṣkalavati in the second century is almost certainly a symbol of Śiva. The bull emblem remained in use under the Yāvanas and Śakas, only the Kuṣānas in the first century A.D. representing the deity in human form (either two or four-armed, and one or three-headed) accompanied by the bull (*Cambridge History of India*, I, 557). Apparently the earliest reference to a Nandi in human form attendant on Śiva is that of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, x.1.6.

28. Thus the total representation is that of the Trinity and their common Nature. The *Skanda Purāṇa* account of the manifestation in the Devadāruvana enjoins the worship not of Śiva alone, but of the Trinity, Śiva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu (*Haṭhakeśvara Mahātmya*, 68).

parently identical attributes (perhaps two lotuses) which I cannot recognize; under the lifted foot is a small, large-eyed animal, possibly a Nandi. A form of Pārvatī holding the trident (*trisūla*) in one hand stands on Siva's proper right.

There remains the representation of a feminine divinity seated on the Gander (*haṃsa*),<sup>29</sup> two-armed, and holding the trident in her right hand. The trident connects her with Siva, but in all other respects the figure would naturally be identified with Sarasvatī-Vāc, the "Muse" and consort of Brahmā (Bṛhaspati, Vācaspati), who is the person of the Sacerdotum (*brahma*) in *divinis*. But Siva Himself, from the point of view of the present iconography being the supreme deity and therefore Himself the Sacerdotum in which the Regnum (*kṣatra*) is inherent *eminenter*, and so at the same time superior to, and the origin of, the distinct persons of Brahmā the Priest and Viṣṇu the King. It is from this point of view a perfectly legitimate application of the ordinary iconography that makes of Sarasvatī-Vāc, His feminine potentiality; and for Her, who as the Muse is the patroness of all music, to be invoked in connection with the dance in which He manifests the universe that is really a production of both conjoint principles, those of the divine Essence and divine Nature.<sup>30</sup>

Briefer reference may be made to the framework. In the second panel each of the representations is placed in a niche or canopy, consisting of two pillars surmounted by the usual *makara toraṇa* or "crocodile arch," the two halves of which spring from the mouths of *makaras* seen in profile, while the apex is crowned by the well-known *kāla-makara* mask of which the significance is ultimately solar.<sup>31</sup> At the right end of this second panel there will be seen a rearing horned lion or *yāli* of the kind so often forming an integral part of the pillars of the South Indian temples; it is likely that there were originally numerous pieces of the same kind, which have now been lost. Some of the monsters enclosed by the windings of the vegetative framings are horned lions of the same sort; others with beaks are more properly to be described as bird-headed lions.<sup>32</sup> Immediately below the lowest of the vegetative frames is a part of the lotus-petal moulding<sup>33</sup> (of which the Greek "egg and dart" is an analogue) which formed the pedestal of the original casket.

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29. Essentially the symbol of the spirit and light, and a form of the sun-bird. Equally in Sanskrit and Greek, words (*bhan*, *bhā*, *φνῡ*, *φάω*) meaning to speak and to shine, are etymologically related, and semantically convergent in the common values of such words as "clarify," "declare," "show," "illustrate," and "enlighten," which can be used with reference to any kind of "demonstration" whether verbal or visual. It is from this point of view that the Gander is the proper vehicle of both persons of the syzygy Brahmā-Vāc.

30. It is, indeed, expressly stated in the *Linga Purāṇa*, 1.28.34, 35, that the Rishis in the Dāruvana find it "difficult to distinguish Śiva from Brahmā and the other Gods" until He, who is the God of Gods, reveals Himself in His own specifically three-eyed form. For the *Linga Purāṇa*, Śiva is "the highest *ātman*" and "God of Gods."

31. For some discussion of and references to this form see the ART BULLETIN, XXII, 52-55.

32. Cf. in my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, fig. 15.

33. Cf. *ibid.*, figs. 12-14.





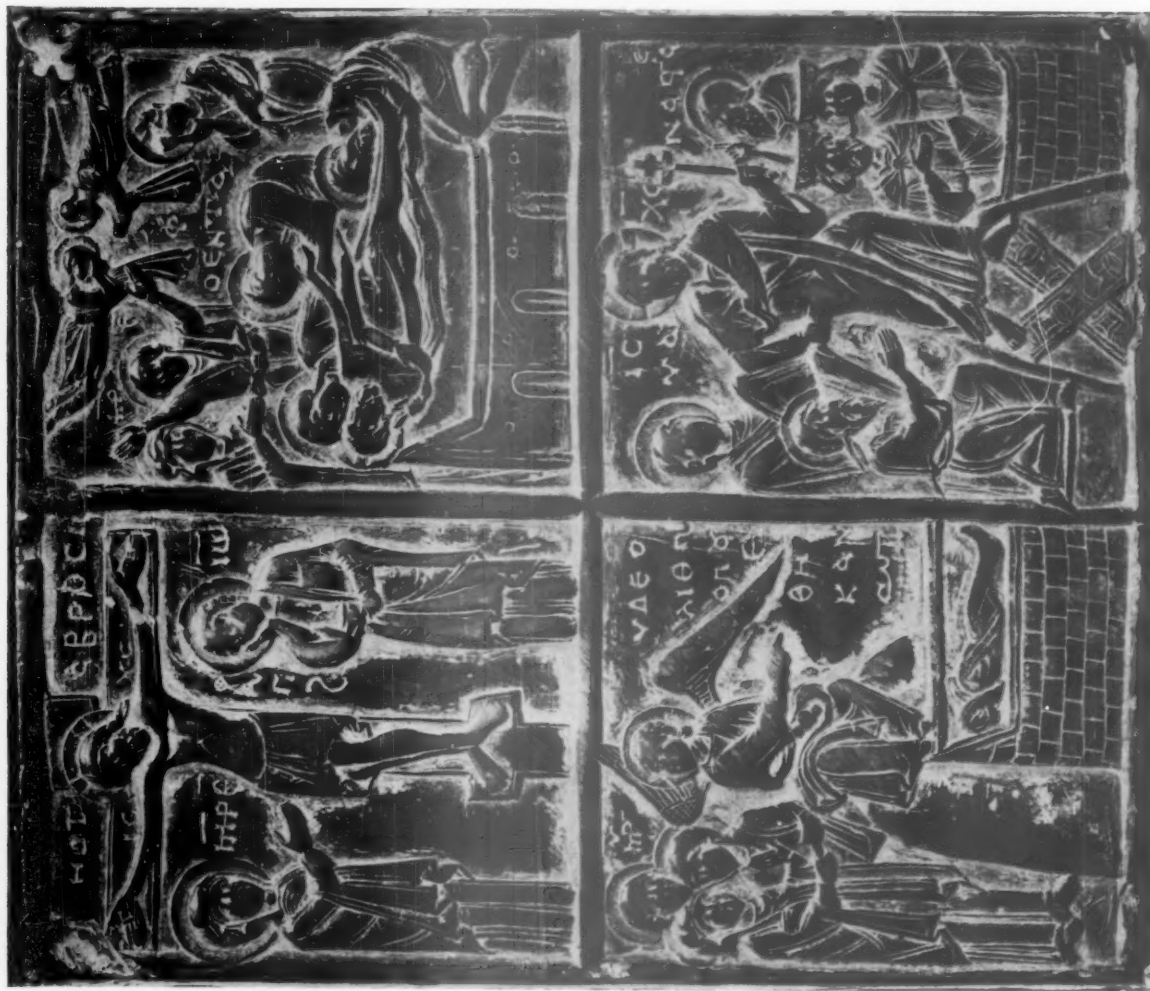


FIG. 1. Rome, Vatican, Museo Sacro: Steatite Plaque, Twelfth Century



FIG. 2. Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament: Crucifixion, fol. 33v, Thirteenth Century



FIG. 3. St. Luke in Phocis: Mosaic, Crucifixion, Eleventh Century

# A STEATITE PLAQUE IN THE MUSEO SACRO OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY\*

BY ALBERT S. ROE

**A**MONG the minor art objects of the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library is a steatite plaque of unusual interest (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The division into four equal compartments, each framed by a narrow undecorated border which is part of the material of the whole, is unique among carvings in steatite. In the upper half are depicted the Crucifixion and the Entombment and below we find the Women at the Tomb and the *Anastasis*. Each compartment bears within it an inscription in Greek. No traces of color now remain upon the surface, but it is quite possible, indeed probable, that it was once polychromed, as such application of surface color seems to have been a usual adornment of both ivory and steatite.<sup>2</sup>

Before passing to a more detailed consideration of the Vatican example, we must speak briefly of the general group to which it belongs. The number of steatites which show several scenes in separate panels of one plaque is extremely limited. In several cases the Twelve Feasts of the Church are represented. One fine example from the Treasury of the Cathedral of Toledo<sup>3</sup> has above the twelve compartments a small lunette showing Christ flanked by angels. Other similar works are those from the Monastery of Vatopedi, Mt. Athos,<sup>4</sup> and in the collection of Nicodemus, Bishop of Kittì on the island of Cyprus.<sup>5</sup>

Some examples have a larger panel in the center containing a figure of Christ or a representation of the Madonna and Child surrounded by smaller scenes. The Schnütgen Collection in Cologne contains a plaque which combines the Madonna and Child with the Twelve Feasts.<sup>6</sup> The so-called "Barberini" diptych in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin,<sup>7</sup> has on

\* *Studies in the Art of the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library*, edited by C. R. Morey and E. Baldwin Smith, No. XXIII.

1. The dimensions are 15.5 cm.h. by 13.0 cm.w. with a maximum thickness of one cm. The plaque is much scratched and chipped and a small piece has been broken off the upper left-hand corner. Brief accounts and occasional reproductions of the steatite have been published, but it has never before been studied at length. Its bibliography to date is as follows: G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile*, Paris, 1916, pp. 406, 506, 532, figs. 534, 574; suggests Macedonian provenance in the eleventh century. C. Rohault de Fleury, *La Sainte Vierge*, Paris, 1878, I, pp. 216-17, 224, plates XLV, 1; crude drawings are reproduced with mistakes in the inscriptions. In referring to this plaque as "un bas-relief d'argent," the author suggests a twelfth-century date and refers to the provenance as "grecque comme les inscriptions le prouvent." D. Ainalov, *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvetsheniya*, new series, III, 1906, 248-49, fig. 1; this is the only previous publication in which a photograph of the Vatican steatite has been reproduced. However, the author, who is discussing the sacred stone slab upon which tradition says that the body of Christ was laid before burial, makes no attempt to fix date or provenance, merely referring to the "engraved icon of the Vatican Collection."

2. O. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 239.

3. G. Schlumberger, *L'épée byzantine*, Paris, 1896, I,

465; O. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 242, fig. 149. The latter author mentions a similar work once in the Carmichael collection (Catalogue of sale at Christie's, May 12 and 13, 1902, no. 150).

4. L. Bréhier, *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins*, Paris, 1936, plate xx.

5. G. A. Soteriou, *Ta byzantina mnemeia tes Kuprou*, Athens, 1935, plate 154. The author publishes only one wing of a diptych and mistakenly refers to it as "ivory." The similarity to the Toledo example is marked.

6. F. Witte, *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen in Köln*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 92-93, plate 82(3). This work was acquired in Florence and is dated by Witte ca. 1000. It is of some interest in connection with our argument to note the fact that the metal frame of the piece was executed in Italy in the fourteenth century.

7. W. F. Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*, Berlin, 1930, pp. 122-23, no. 2721, plate 2; O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1911, II, 62, no. 1853, plate IV; G. Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 24, fig. 4; H. Kehr, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1908-1909, II, 89, fig. 75; A. N. Grabar, "Rospis tserkvikostnitsy Bachkovskago Monastyra," *Izvestiya na bulgarskiya archeologicheski institut*, series 2, II, 1923-24, 50-51, fig. 8; E. Sandberg-Vala, *La croce dipinta italiana*, Verona, 1929, p. 165. Volbach dates the diptych in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, Grabar in the twelfth or thirteenth, and Kehr in the twelfth.

the left half the standing figure of Christ surrounded by ten scenes from His life and on the right the Madonna and Child with ten scenes from the Life of the Virgin. The unusual modeling convention of parallel lines close together found in this work connects it more closely in technique with the Vatican example than with other steatites or ivories.<sup>8</sup>

With regard to the Vatican steatite, the absence of close parallels among steatites or ivories which can be surely dated and localized, reduces the problem to one of iconography. The only inference that can be drawn on the basis of style is the indication of provincial origin, probably between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. The inscriptions, in spite of peculiarities, are unfortunately valueless as aids in the determination of a more precise date and provenance.<sup>9</sup>

*The Crucifixion:* This scene may be classed at once in the category which corresponds to the central school of Byzantine production. There is a masterly combination of dignity and pathos. The figure upon the cross has no colobium, indicating a date later than the tenth century, and his feet are nailed separately to the *suppedaneum*, a representation unusual after the early thirteenth century. The curving of the body is very slight, but the effect is one of grace and relaxation. The eyes are already closed and the head has fallen upon the shoulder, an effect that is midway between the earlier attitude of complete triumph over pain and death and the later introduction of a more realistic expression of agony. The Virgin stands erect and makes the two gestures commonly found in the Constantinopolitan

8. In addition to the steatites of this type already described, Volbach (*op. cit.*, p. 123) cites an example in the hands of a dealer in Paris. Kondakov has published an example in S. Clement, Ochrida, depicting in the same arrangement as the Vatopedi steatite (see note 4) the Twelve Feasts of the Church. However, the Greek inscriptions in this case are incised on the borders immediately above each scene. According to Kondakov the work dates from the "sixteenth or even the seventeenth century" (*Makedoniya archeologicheskoe puteshchestvie*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 270, fig. 185). A similar example, with Slavic rather than Greek inscriptions on the borders, is now on the New York market. Occasional fragments give unmistakable evidence of having once formed part of plaques which were divided into a number of panels. In this class we may place a piece now in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, which preserves a representation of the Baptism surrounded by remains of other scenes and of the enframingent (O. Wulff, *op. cit.*, II, 63, no. 1854, plate v; Volbach, *op. cit.*, p. 123, no. 2427, plate 3).

9. The inscriptions of the four panels are as follows: 1) *The Crucifixion:* Between the Virgin's head and the cross MHP Θ(μήτηρ Θεοῦ), "Mother of God"; between the Apostle and the Cross O ΑΓ Γ(ὁ ἅγιος), completed by Ἰω(άννης) placed to the right of the Apostle's nimbus, thus giving in all "St. John"; on the arms of the cross is Christ's title IC XC; above is the label of the scene, H CTABPOCIC, "the Crucifixion."—2) *The Entombment:* In addition to the misplaced MP Θ mentioned in the body of the text, the only other inscription gives the name of the scene: O ENTAΦ(ιασμος).—3) *The Holy Women at the Sepulcher:* Above the right-hand member of the group of three women is MP surmounted by ΘΥ, another manner of abbreviating μήτηρ Θεοῦ. On the right above the sarcophagus is a long inscription: ΥΔΕ Ο ΑΙΘ(=ος) ΟΙΙ Θ(=ου) ΕΘΗΚΑΝ ΑΥΤ. This is a quotation from Mark 16:6 and in the accepted version reads: *Ὡς δὲ τόπος ἐπουλήσαν αὐτὸν* ("Behold the place where they laid him"). On substitution of λίθος ("stone") for τόπος, see below.—4) *The Anastasis:* Two superimposed inscriptions, each interrupted by Christ's cruciform nimbus. Above, IC XC; beneath, Y ANACTAC (is).

It will be noted that in these inscriptions there are some misspellings and also one unusual variant of a text. It was

hoped that it might be possible to trace these peculiarities and localize them, thus obtaining evidence as to provenance and date, but all efforts to this end, although exhaustive, have proved fruitless.

The substitution of B for T was found in Greece in the second century B.C. and was widespread by the beginning of the Christian era (according to Professor A. C. Johnson of Princeton University). O=Ω is a common confusion, found in earliest times. The use of Y for H is very unusual, but not unparalleled, being known in the second century B.C. in Egypt (E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, 1906, p. 85). This variant is found also in the Septuagint version (H. St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 1909, p. 96), but was still extremely rare as late as the tenth century (Semenov, *The Greek Language and Its Evolution*, 1936). In the second century B.C. ἡμεῖς was confused with ὑμεῖς, but the variant does not occur except sporadically in other words "until centuries after, unless in strictly limited areas" (J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of the New Testament in Greek*, 1919, II, 73). Y=I is found also in Egyptian papyri of the second century B.C. (Mayser, *op. cit.*, p. 85). It later becomes common in accordance with the itacism of modern Greek (Moulton, *op. cit.*, II, 73). The reading of λίθος for τόπος in this text (Mark 16:6) is interesting and gave promise that this variant might be traced down to a form found in manuscripts of a given region. However, a thorough search and the consultation of leading authorities (among those who have kindly given me the benefit of their opinions are Professor A. C. Johnson of Princeton, Cardinal Mercati, and Professors Colwell and Riddle of the University of Chicago) has failed to bring to light any other occurrence of this departure from the usual text either in gospel-books or lectionaries. In the opinion of Cardinal Mercati the variation must be due to the carver of the inscription, and not the result of an exact copying of another text. Ainalov (*op. cit.*, p. 249) believes the alteration is intentional and refers to the sacred slab on which the body of Christ was laid. The quotation appears in correct form at Tchareqle Kilissé, where it occurs in connection with a wall painting showing the Holy Women at the Sepulcher (G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin: Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1925, plate 130).



type, showing neither sadness nor extreme anguish. John inclines his head, but his book has not yet disappeared as it so frequently does in examples later than the twelfth century.

All these considerations indicate a work of the transition, probably of the twelfth century. The iconography is undoubtedly closely bound up with the Byzantine ateliers, but on the other hand the occasional technical clumsiness and the unusual spellings of the inscriptions argue for a provincial origin. An additional un-Byzantine feature is the elimination of feet in the figures of Mary and John.

When we compare this work with other representations of the Crucifixion which most nearly approximate it, our results check well. The best comparison is with the Crucifixion on folio 33<sup>r</sup> of the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament (Fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> The poses and gestures of all figures are almost identical in both works, as is the simplicity of both versions. The only addition in the manuscript picture is the inclusion of two hills behind the flanking figures. According to the opinion of the editors of the publication on this manuscript, however, its date is relatively late, *ca.* 1265. The provenance is Constantinopolitan, and such must be the ultimate model of the steatite composition, as may be seen by comparing it with the famous mosaic Crucifixion of Daphni, strongly imbued with the reticent style of the capital. Closer in detail, however, is the Crucifixion found among the mosaics of St. Luke in Phocis (Fig. 3), which shares with our example a provincial modification of Constantinopolitan style and iconography.<sup>11</sup>

*The Entombment:* By its emphasis upon the pathetic aspects of the subject, the Entombment contrasts with the relative calm of the other three scenes. An unusual confusion is observable in that the inscription  $\overline{\text{MP}} \Theta$  mistakenly identifies the figure which stands and gesticulates as the Virgin, although she actually occupies her usual position behind the sarcophagus and bending over the head of the recumbent form.

The history of the iconography of the Entombment<sup>12</sup> involves interplay between the two themes of the actual placing of the body in the tomb and of the lamentation over the dead Christ. In earlier representations emphasis is upon the bearing of the body to the sepulcher; later the features of mourning intrude, and finally dominate the subject as in our plaque. Italy seems first to have fused the eastern and western motives as we find them in the steatite. The substitution of the sarcophagus for the slab or rock-hewn tomb became more and more usual, thus combining the eastern type of preparation for the sepulcher with the western representation of the actual placing of the body in the coffin. At the same time the number of figures was increased and more emphasis placed upon the pathos of the subject. As early as 1058-86, in the nave of S. Angelo in Formis, the sarcophagus motive was introduced together with pronounced emotional expression in the faces (Fig. 6).<sup>13</sup> Here also are to be found the Virgin standing by the head of Christ and St. John in the background, positions which they occupy regularly hereafter.

Once introduced, the emotional elements were speedily adopted generally and many variants of them occur. The representation of the Virgin bending over the body and embracing it becomes common and other figures cease to be bystanders and actively mourn. Customary Italian features are the gesticulating Magdalene and the sorrowful St. John.<sup>14</sup>

10. E. Goodspeed, D. Riddle, and H. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament*, Chicago, 1932; H. Willoughby, "Codex 2400 and its Miniatures," *ART BULLETIN*, xv, 1933, 3-74.

11. E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931.

12. G. Millet, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, chap. x; W. W. S. Cook, *ART BULLETIN*, x, 1928, 22-32; C. R. Morey, *ART BULLE-*

*TIN*, xi, 1929, 86-87.

13. F. X. Kraus, *Die Wandgemälde von S. Angelo in Formis*, Berlin, 1893.

14. G. Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 503: "D'ordinaire en Italie les assistants s'écartent vers les extrémités et laissent voir, au-dessus de la mère, Jean qui s'incline ou un myrrophore qui gesticule."

It is in the typically Italian development that our steatite takes its place. The sarcophagus has replaced the slab, but upon it the body still rests on the cloth in persistent rigidity. The group of those who are nearest to the corpse are shown not as bearers, but embracing the figure. Behind them three other figures also mourn, making significant gestures. The motive of the female figure with arms thrown up over her head seems to have had particular appeal for Italian artists, although it is also found elsewhere. In the twelfth century the gesticulating form stands as a rule well to the side in the foreground, as in the *Hortus Deliciarum*,<sup>15</sup> or kneels or stands in the mountainous background near the edge of the composition, as in the case of Bibl. Vat. MS gr. 1156<sup>16</sup> or of the fine fresco in the crypt of the Cathedral of Aquileia on the north shore of the Adriatic.<sup>17</sup> The variant which we find in the steatite, namely the placing of the gesticulating figure behind the sarcophagus, soon became the accepted version in Italy, and many examples occur, especially in works of the Sienese school. A good parallel for our plaque is panel number 7 of the Gallery of Siena, by a follower of Guido,<sup>18</sup> and another by a famous master is the Entombment scene upon the back of Duccio's retable in the Opera del Duomo (Fig. 4).

Thus it may be stated that the representation of the Entombment as found in this steatite agrees closely with an iconography which gives every indication of having developed in Italy in the twelfth century.<sup>19</sup> Granted that the scene is quite emotional in character, it is by no means as exaggerated as many later renditions and for this reason a date later than the twelfth century is improbable. Although the theme is seldom found among the ivory carvings,<sup>20</sup> it is significant that such examples of it as occur are confined to the so-called "Border" group which A. S. Keck has connected with Venice and dated in the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries.<sup>21</sup> The subject is also rare among mosaics, but is more general in Italian and provincial wall and panel paintings.

*The Holy Women at the Sepulcher:* We come now to the most informative of the four scenes of the steatite, the Holy Women at the Tomb. The most striking feature of this panel is the presence of three women in an otherwise typically Byzantine representation of the subject.<sup>22</sup> The iconography of the Holy Women is well summed up in its essential points by Millet in the first paragraph of his article on this particular theme:

Ce sujet, plus que tout autre, nous invite à poser la question qui domine notre étude: Orient ou Italie? Avant le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'Occident et Byzance suivent deux traditions bien distinctes. Byzance figure deux femmes et un tombeau; l'Occident, trois femmes et, depuis la fin du X<sup>e</sup>, un sarcophage. Or, au

15. A. Straub and G. Keller, *Hortus Deliciarum*, Strassburg, 1901, plate xxxix.

16. G. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 533.

17. P. Toesca, "Gli affreschi del duomo di Aquileia," *Dedalo*, vi, 1925, 32-57, fig. p. 43; *La basilica di Aquileia*, Bologna, 1933, pp. 319-28, plate LXXIV.

18. R. van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923, I, fig. 206. It is dated 1270.

19. The wall painting in the monastery of St. Neophytus of Paphos in Cyprus ca. 1190 (A. N. Grabar, *L'art byzantin*, Paris, 1938, fig. 73) has a grouping of figures much like that of the steatite, but it is characteristic of this eastern example that the slab is retained rather than replaced by the sarcophagus. Other eastern works which have an iconography of the Entombment akin to that of the steatite are the Georgian Gospels of Gélat (G. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 535) and a fresco in the church of Aegina (G. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 522; G. A. Soteriou, "He omorphe ecclesia Aigines," *Epeteris Etairias Byzantinon Spoudon*, II, 1925, 242-76).

20. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1930-31, II, plate LXVII, fig. 204; plate LXVIII, figs. 207, 208, 209; plate LXIX, fig. 213.

21. "A Group of Italo-Byzantine Ivories," *ART BULLETIN*, XII, 1930, 147-62. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann (*op. cit.*, II, pp. 20-21) dispute this conclusion, attributing the group to Constantinople in the eleventh century. A convincing rebuttal has been made by C. R. Morey and A. S. Keck in *ART BULLETIN*, XVII, 1935, 405.

22. For the iconography of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher see the following: G. Millet, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, chap. XI, part I; C. R. Morey, *ART BULLETIN*, XI, 1929, 69-70; *idem*, "The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum," *Festschrift Paul Clemen*, Düsseldorf, 1926, pp. 150-67; W. W. S. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-65; N. C. Brooks, "The Sepulcher of Christ in Art and Liturgy," *University of Illinois Studies in Languages and Literatures*, VII, 1921, 139-250.

XIV<sup>e</sup>, Grecs et Slavs adoptent les trois femmes et le sarcophage. Ils auraient donc imité l'Italie. Ils nous fourniraient ainsi un argument décisif en faveur de l'influence latine.<sup>23</sup>

This marked difference between East and West is explained by the varying accounts of the Gospels. In the liturgy of the Eastern Church the Easter pericope for the episode was taken from Matthew, who mentions only two women, whereas in the West the reading was from Mark who mentions three. It is the mixture of these two types, the three women of the West in an otherwise Byzantine conception, that provides our most promising clue.

In the present example the angel sits upon a stone and points across his body as in the Byzantine type, but the sarcophagus and the three women are specifically western. The combination of rock and sarcophagus is extremely rare, and it is significant to observe that the best parallels for our representation are Italian. A fresco at S. Urbano alla Caffarella in Rome<sup>24</sup> has both the sarcophagus and the arched door of a cave in which hangs a lamp. There are only two women, as also is the case in S. Angelo in Formis (Fig. 8), where the sarcophagus is placed under a ciborium and the cave omitted altogether. Closest of all to the steatite is the scene as depicted on the diptych of Berne.<sup>25</sup> In this example, the angel sits on a square block, there is a sarcophagus, and three women are shown. This work has been generally accepted as Italo-Byzantine, originating probably in Venice. It cannot, however, date earlier than 1253.

While the above comprise the cases known to me in which both block and sarcophagus occur together, it is possible to find many other examples of mixed iconography in Italian art of the same period. A Tuscan crucifix of the thirteenth century in the Accademia at Florence<sup>26</sup> shows the three women and the angel on the block, but the tomb is still hewn in the hillside. This type occurs again in a fresco from the crypt of S. Vito Vecchio at Gravina di Puglia.<sup>27</sup> A close resemblance is also offered by a Pisan crucifix in the Gallery of Pisa in which the tomb is represented as a slab on the ground with grave-clothes upon it; three women are present and the angel sits on a cubical block (Fig. 7). Another thirteenth-century crucifix of the Pisan school<sup>28</sup> has three women and the block is tilted against the front of the sarcophagus. A crucifix (ca. 1250) by Enrico di Tedice in S. Martino, Pisa,<sup>29</sup> shows the angel seated on the edge of the sarcophagus, but in the Byzantine pose. This example also has three women. Similar is the scene as depicted on a crucifix in the Cathedral of Pistoia.<sup>30</sup> Finally, Duccio in his retablo keeps the Byzantine pose for the angel, while seating him upon the lid which rests against the sarcophagus. Again three women are shown.<sup>31</sup>

Among objects of minor art, an ivory in the Galleria e Museo Estense, Modena, which can be classed in the "Border" group of Italo-Byzantine production,<sup>32</sup> has a composition closely akin to that of the steatite, with three women and the angel seated on a block. However, there is no sarcophagus, the rock-hewn sepulcher being retained. A celebrated

23. *Op. cit.*, p. 517.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 528, fig. 572; van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, 162-63; J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten*, Freiburg, 1917, II, 898, fig. 418. The series to which this fresco belongs is dated by an inscription in 1011.

25. G. Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 530, fig. 573; J. Stammer, *Der Paramentenschatz im historischen Museum zu Bern*, Berne, 1895, pp. 30-35 (with plate).

26. E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, figs. 290, 459.

27. A. Medea, *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi*, Rome, 1939, I, 60-63; II, fig. 17. While the author dates the other frescoes of this crypt in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, he finds the style of the Holy Women different in being at once more vigorous and less finished.

It is possibly thus somewhat earlier than the other frescoes. It is interesting to note that the inscription accompanying the Gravina wall painting is the Latin rendering of the same text which appears misquoted in Greek on the steatite: *ecce locus ubi positus erat*. The variation *positus erat* for *posuerunt eum* is, however, not the same as the misquotation made in the inscription on the Vatican plaque (see note 9).

28. R. van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 146; E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, fig. 296.

29. R. van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 172; E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, fig. 297.

30. E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *op. cit.*, fig. 298.

31. C. H. Weigelt, *Duccio di Buoninsegna*, Leipzig, 1911, II, plate 37.

32. See note 21.



illuminated manuscript which can be connected with the West, although not specifically with Italy, the Melissenda Psalter, has a miniature in which the angel sits upon a block and addresses three women.<sup>33</sup> It is known that this book combines both Byzantine and Western hands and dates from the middle of the twelfth century.

To turn to works of Constantinopolitan origin, the best parallel for the steatite rendition is that of the Rockefeller-McCormick Gospels of ca. 1265 (Fig. 5). This example, however, presents only two women, although the accompanying text is that of Mark in which three are specifically mentioned. It is thus a good illustration of the power of iconographic tradition in the capital even at a relatively late date.

Thus we see that the unusual mixture of iconographic elements which make up the representation of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher on the Vatican steatite is clearly suggestive of Italian provenance.

*The Anastasis:* The Harrowing of Hell (given its Greek title of *Anastasis*, "Resurrection") is the subject of the final scene of the plaque. Based upon the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, this theme served regularly in Byzantine art as the representation of the Resurrection, and it was only in later times that the more familiar form came into general use. The iconography of this subject is well defined, and it is possible to follow the chronological development with much more certainty than usual.<sup>34</sup>

To speak briefly of the significant features of the steatite *Anastasis*, we note first that Christ walks away from Adam, looking back at him over His shoulder. Earlier practice showed Him walking towards Adam, but by the eleventh and twelfth centuries the arrangement found here had become general. Again, the symmetrical crossing of the gates and the omission of the prostrate figure of Satan suggest the twelfth-century date. The figure of the Baptist, found here, is very unusual before the middle of the eleventh century, but is almost universal thereafter.<sup>35</sup>

Although the principal features of twelfth-century representations of the *Anastasis* are well standardized, there are a few examples which are so very close in detail to the steatite that we must speak of them as indicative of provenance and date for our work.<sup>36</sup>

Particularly striking is a miniature from a twelfth-century manuscript in the British Museum, Harley 1810 (Fig. 9).<sup>37</sup> The resemblance is so close that the steatite might almost be copied from the painting. The mountainous background, usual in manuscript renditions, is the only important variation, and the poses of all figures are extremely close to those of the Vatican plaque. Especially interesting is the group on the right. David and Solomon face each other as though conversing and wear flat crowns exactly like those in the steatite.

33. O. Dalton, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-73; J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York, 1911, pp. 57-60; G. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 569.

34. C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, New York, 1914, pp. 45-53; *idem*, *ART BULLETIN*, XI, 1929, 57-58; G. Rushforth, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I, 1902, 114-19; G. Millet, *Monuments Piot*, II, 1895, 204-14; C. Diehl, *Monuments Piot*, III, 1896, 232-36.

35. Millet (*Monuments Piot*, II, 1895, 209) gives as the first example a mosaic of the middle of the eleventh century at Hagia Sophia, Kiev. However, the Baptist probably appears in the miniature of this subject in a famous manuscript of the Leningrad State Library, Petropolitanus XXI, which has been dated as early as the eighth century by some (C. R. Morey, *ART BULLETIN*, XI, 1929, 53-92, fig. 63; A. M. Friend, Jr., *Art Studies*, v, 1927, 136; K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 59-61).

36. The closest parallels of all are to be found on the steatites of Toledo (see note 3) and Berlin (see note 7).

However, as neither can be assigned a date or provenance they cannot be used to further our argument.

37. This manuscript has no colophon and its history is not known. It is usually considered on the basis of style to be of the twelfth century, or perhaps later. Herbert speaks of it as "thoroughly typical of Byzantine work of the time," (*op. cit.*, pp. 58-61). However, Professor A. M. Friend, Jr., and Dr. K. Weitzmann doubt its origin in the imperial atelier at Constantinople. The other miniatures of Harley 1810 do not correspond as closely to the style and iconography of the steatite as does the *Anastasis*. In the Crucifixion, the figure of St. John is almost identical, but the rest of the scene is different. The Entombment follows the early Byzantine formula.



FIG. 4. Siena, Opera del Duomo: Duccio, Detail of Maestà, Entombment



FIG. 5. Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament: Holy Women at the Sepulcher, fol. 54<sup>v</sup>, Thirteenth Century



FIG. 6. S. Angelo in Formis: Fresco, Entombment, Eleventh Century



FIG. 7. Pisa, Museo Civico: Holy Women at the Sepulcher, Detail of Crucifix, Thirteenth Century



FIG. 8. S. Angelo in Formis: Fresco, Holy Women at the Sepulcher, Eleventh Century



FIG. 9. London, British Museum: Harley MS 1810, Anastasis, Twelfth Century



FIG. 10. Mt. Athos, Lavra Monastery: Evangelary, Anastasis, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, Eleventh Century

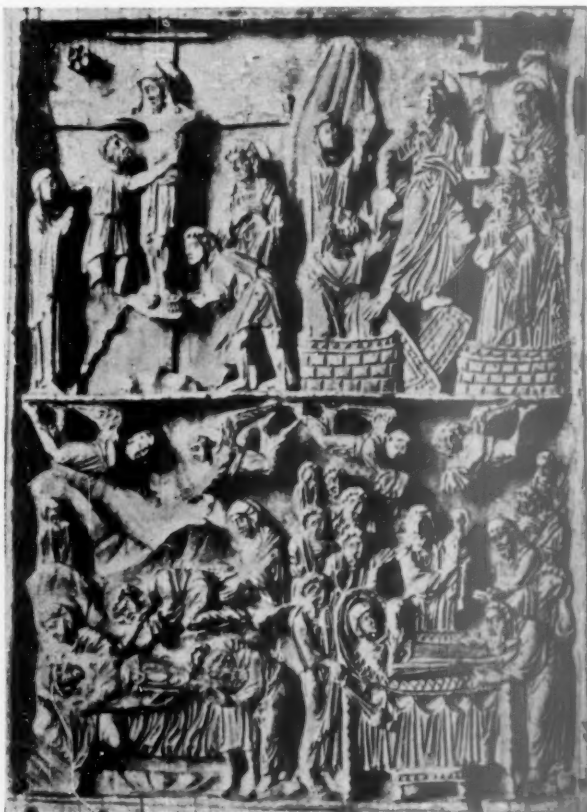


FIG. 11. London, Ludlow Collection: Ivory Plaque, Twelfth Century



FIG. 12. Ravello, Cathedral: Detail of Portal by Barisanus of Trani, Anastasis, 1179 A.D.



The head and shoulders of John appear in the background, and he gestures with his right hand. Even details of drapery are the same, for instance the long sweeping fold from top to bottom of Christ's garment. Variants in the steatite may easily be explained as misunderstandings, e.g. the placing of the clasps of the kings' tunics in the center instead of on the shoulder, and the treatment of the wide fold across Christ's breast. The single difference of importance in the miniature is the addition of a *suppedaneum* to the cross.<sup>38</sup> Clearly both stem from an identical model which must have been closely related to the beautiful miniature on folio 1<sup>v</sup> of the Evangelary of Lavra on Mt. Athos (Fig. 10). The magnificence of the technique of this example sets it in a class apart from the comparatively rough rendering of Harley 1810, but the iconography of the two pages is strikingly alike and links them in a group with the Vatican steatite and with the bronze doors of Barisanus of Trani, to be mentioned shortly. The Lavra miniature is the product of a Constantinopolitan shop and dates from the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>39</sup> Less emphasis is placed upon the mouth of the cave than in the steatite or in the Harley miniature. In addition a third figure is added behind Adam and beside Eve. Christ grasps Adam by the right wrist instead of by the left, David and Solomon appear in full length, the gates are not symmetrically placed, and numerous keys and fetters litter the foreground. These discrepancies do not conceal, however, the great similarity of composition and of details of pose and dress. The backward glance of Christ in the Lavra example is more nearly related to the steatite than in the case of the Harley miniature in which the Savior faces directly towards the observer.

A number of ivory carvings are also of interest. Save for reversal, the crudely rendered plaque from a triptych in the Munich State Library, ascribed by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann to their "Pictorial" group, follows the type well.<sup>40</sup> Among the ivories of the "Border" group, a striking similarity is presented by a plaque in the Ludlow Collection in London (Fig. 11); this closely recalls Harley 1810. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann date both these examples in the eleventh century, although on iconographical grounds a twelfth-century date would seem preferable.<sup>41</sup> It is important to bear in mind the Italian origin of the "Border" group, already mentioned.

Most significant of all, a series of monuments of undoubted Italian origin and known date, namely the bronze doors of Barisanus of Trani, reproduce the *Anastasis* of the steatite almost exactly (Fig. 12).<sup>42</sup> Certain similarities of detail are too close to be fortuitous, and

38. The Vatican steatite is unusual in the omission of the *suppedaneum* at so early a date. It is possible that space may have been the controlling factor; the upright of the cross is cut off by the crown of one of the kings. However, this explanation cannot account for the omission in the case of the Vatopedi steatite (see note 4) and of the "Barberini" diptych (see note 7). The fine silver bookcover of the Lavra Skevophylakion manuscript also omits the *suppedaneum*, as does the mosaic of Daphni. Both of these representations have the upright of the cross much longer than usual and reaching to the ground in the manner of a staff. The decorative border of the silver bookcover has undergone considerable later restoration, but the *Anastasis* itself is probably of the eleventh century, the date of the manuscript. It preserves the older type, in which Christ walks towards Adam and Eve (N. P. Kondakov, *Pamyatniki Christianskago iskusstva na Afone*, St. Petersburg, 1902, plate xxvii). Harley 1810 and the doors by Barisanus, almost identical with the Vatican steatite in nearly every other respect, do not omit the *suppedaneum*.

39. K. Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII, 1936, 83-98.

40. *Op. cit.*, II, plate VI, fig. 22b. It seems to me that stylistically this ivory could well belong to the "Border" group. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann date it on the basis of the decoration on the surrounding metal-work. However, the decoration above and below is much less fine than that at the sides, suggesting that the ivory was put in at a later date and the frame altered to fit.

41. The "Border" group was originally given a twelfth-century date by A. S. Keck (*op. cit.*). After this had been rejected by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, their argument was opposed by A. S. Keck and C. R. Morey (*op. cit.*, p. 405). The latter hold that the iconography of the Lamentation found on five ivories of the group (see note 20) does not occur in dated manuscripts before the twelfth century. They also point out that the similarity of a plaque in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 123), to the Last Judgment of the Torcello mosaic, and also to the style of the "Border" group ivories, requires that the group be dated after Torcello, i.e., not earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century.

42. I. M. Palmarini, "Barisano da Trani e le sue porte in

are indicative of a related archetype for both works. Barisanus used the same design for the doors at Trani, Ravello, and Monreale. The Ravello door is securely dated by an inscription in 1179; that of Trani can be shown to be slightly earlier, while that at Monreale must have been made about 1186. Thus between 1175 and 1186 the representation of the *Anastasis* found on our steatite was followed with great exactness by a leading Italian artist in bronze. Barisanus took many of his motives from Byzantine ivories, as Palmarini has shown, and frequently used Greek inscriptions. This rendition of the *Anastasis*, stemming from Constantinopolitan models akin to the Lavra Evangelary and to the prototype of Harley 1810, was therefore current in Italy in the second half of the twelfth century, the time which the iconographic evidence of the other three scenes has indicated as the most plausible date for the Vatican steatite. Eleventh-century representations of the *Anastasis* nearly all have both the crossed gates and the prostrate form of Satan. The crossed gates alone, simplicity, rigid symmetry, and a minimum number of extra figures—all features found in the Vatican plaque—are more common in the twelfth century than in the eleventh. The fact that we have here a provincial work, as brought out in earlier discussion, would confirm the twelfth-century dating, as only in Constantinople itself might such a combination be looked for in the eleventh century. Finally, we have the strong evidence that all the renditions in ivory of the Entombment, the Holy Women at the Sepulcher, and the *Anastasis*, which from an iconographic standpoint most closely approach the steatite representations, are connected with the "Border" group, which has been localized in Venice (thus supporting the theory of Italian provenance) and dated with probability in the twelfth century.<sup>43</sup>

It is thus apparent from a study of the Vatican steatite that a date in the second half of the twelfth century and an Italian provenance are most consistent as explanations of its iconographic peculiarities.

#### FOGG MUSEUM OF ART

bronzo," *L'arte*, 1, 1898, 15-26; E. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, Paris, 1904, pp. 418-23, also frontispiece

and plate xviii; Gravina, *Il duomo di Monreale*, Palermo, 1859, plate v c.

43. See notes 21 and 41.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS



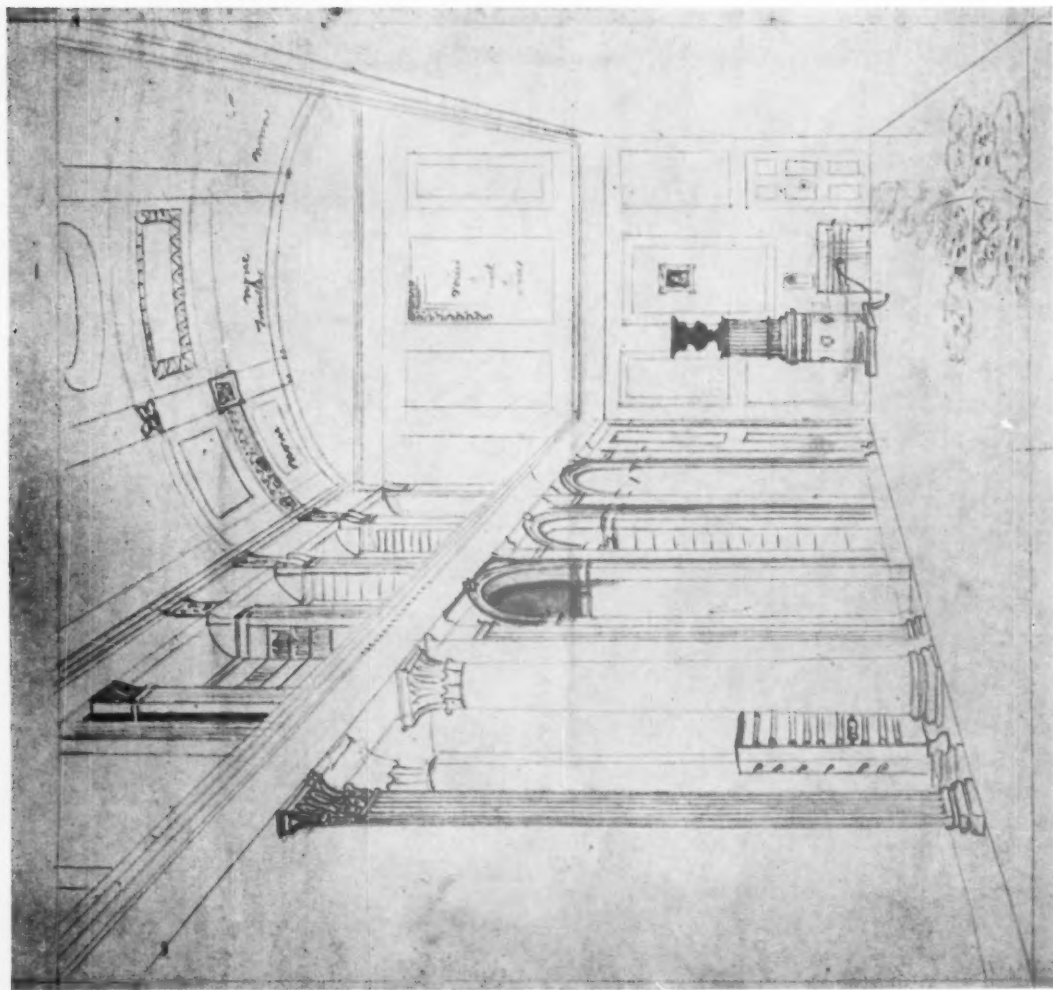


FIG. 1. Interior View of the Old Library of Congress. Drawn by A. J. Davis after the Design by Charles Bulfinch

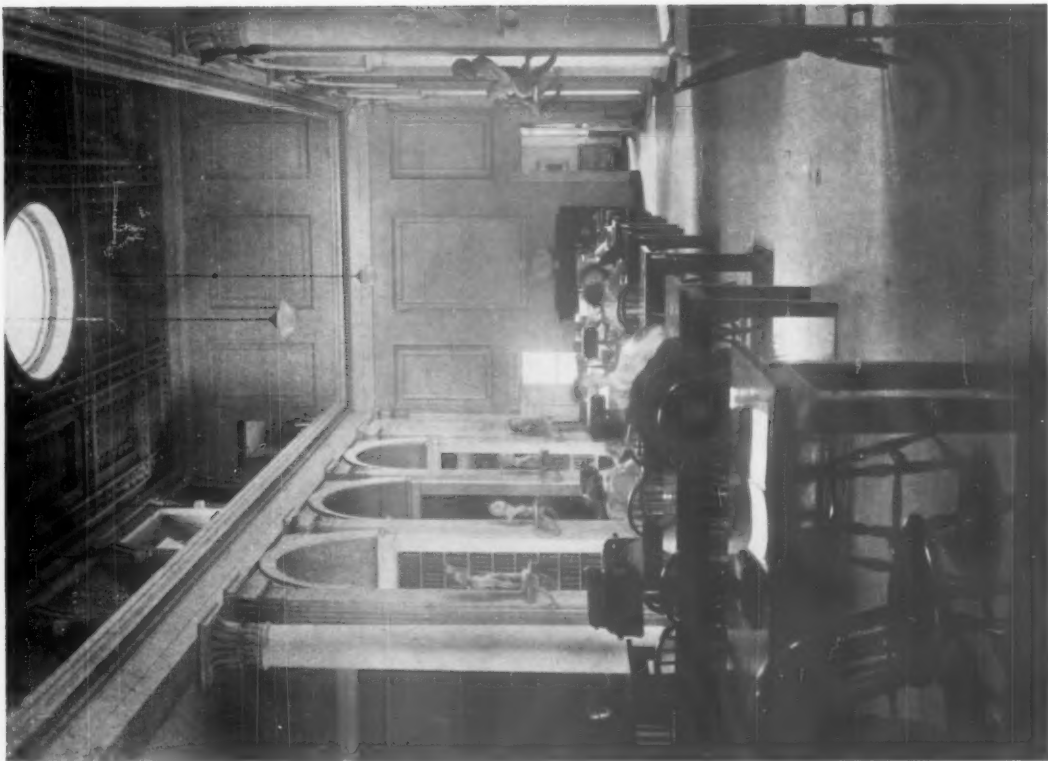


FIG. 2. Reading Room of the University of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. Designed by Robert Mills, ca. 1840

## NOTES

### BULFINCH'S DESIGN FOR THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

BY ROGER HALE NEWTON

There has just come to light a unique drawing of a room in our National Capitol which no longer exists. But it illustrates how that famous pile has for more than a century inspired many of our Revivalist and Eclectic architects to adhere to a Classic style for public buildings the nation over.

An exhibition of "Original Architectural Drawings of 200 Years" recently held at the Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University, included, amongst others by the hand of Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-92), an interior view of the old Library of Congress as designed by Charles Bulfinch (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> So far as we know, this Davis drawing is unique in being the only extant record of the first Library of Congress to be housed in the newly completed Capitol. When the British, under Admiral Cockburn, set fire to the unfinished capital in 1814, the original Library of Congress, then housed in the Senate Wing of the Capitol, was totally destroyed. Upon being engaged to rebuild and complete the Capitol, Benjamin Henry Latrobe made a design for a new Library in the Egyptian style,<sup>2</sup> obviously to be situated beyond the Rotunda, behind the west-central façade.

When Bulfinch succeeded Latrobe early in 1818 as Architect of the National Capitol, by appointment from President Madison, he attempted to carry into execution the plans of his various predecessors, at least in spirit. But as far as I can ascertain by comparing these designs, Bulfinch's for the Library of Congress was, for the most part, original in elevation and largely so in plan. He mentions it in a report to the Commissioner of Public Buildings dated December 6, 1823:<sup>3</sup>

"The Library room is 92' long, 34' wide, and 38' high; it is finished with alcoves or recesses for books according to the most approved models of rooms for this use, with a gallery above giving access to other alcoves. The ceiling is richly finished in panels of stucco, with three skylights. . . ." And in another report dated a year later, December 8, 1824: "The Library and contiguous rooms are complete, and are furnished and occupied for use. . . ." As the Davis drawing shows, Bulfinch used the Corinthian order from the Tower of the Winds in conformity with Latrobe's famous corn-husk capitals appearing elsewhere in the building, and it may still be seen flanking the entrance to the original Library of Congress suite of rooms.<sup>4</sup>

1. The author wishes to thank the Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University, for permission to use the photograph of the Davis drawing of the Library of Congress, and L. Bancel La Farge for the photograph of the Library of the University of South Carolina.

2. Glenn Brown, *History of the United States Capitol*, Vol. 1, *The Old Capitol, 1792-1850*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1900, pl. 47.

3. *Documentary History of the Construction and Development of the United States Capitol, Building and Grounds*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904, p. 257.

4. Brown, *op. cit.*, pl. 95.

At the University of South Carolina at Columbia<sup>5</sup> there is a Library<sup>6</sup> built *circa* 1840 by Robert Mills (1781-1855) (Fig. 2). It is an exact duplicate, upon a somewhat smaller scale, of Bulfinch's Library of Congress, faithful to the smallest detail of plaster ornament, having a fire-place and mantel at either end (the Library of Congress had handsome Louis XVI stoves in addition), sunken panels, blind bays containing staircases to the galleries, groups of three arcaded bays flanking a central square one with columns in antis, an attic with clerestory lighting, and a paneled ceiling pierced by three oculi. The only difference lies in the ceiling, which is a segmental vault at Washington and flat at Columbia, while the Washington attic is considerably higher in proportion than that at Columbia. Otherwise, this amazing piece of plagiarism is complete! Beyond and at each end, we catch a glimpse of a smaller reading room, as also planned by Bulfinch.<sup>7</sup> So Mills merely stole Bulfinch's design of the Library of Congress when commissioned to build a Library for the University of South Carolina some eighteen years later.

We know that Mills greatly admired Latrobe's special idiom and continued to work in it long after that master's demise. Is it possible that, when Bulfinch came to design the Library of Congress prior to 1823, Mills exerted any influence in the choice of an order and general features, and therefore felt justified in using that scheme some eighteen years later? Or did he just find it too tempting not to combine this interior with a typically Millsian façade (as his Library stands today at Columbia, S. C.), when pressed for time?

But how did Davis come to make this historically important and accurate drawing of the interior of Bulfinch's Library of Congress, and when? His senior partner, Ithiel Town (1784-1844), whom he joined in 1829 to practice in New York, had evidently heard that Bulfinch would soon resign his appointment. Accordingly, in both 1830 and 1833, he secured a basement room in the Capitol for draughting and placed young Davis there, meanwhile trying to outmaneuver their arch-rival, Mills, who also aspired to the post and attained it in 1836. During these two sojourns, Town instructed Davis to make a careful study of all Federal buildings, actual and contemplated, besides sketches;—hence this one of the Library of Congress. Its accuracy attests both to Davis' skill as a draughtsman and to his keen powers of observation. Meanwhile, the firm of Town and Davis made a series of competition drawings for the Post Office, Treasury, and Patent Office in the Greek Revival style, which Mills evidently used in part when actually designing them after 1836.<sup>8</sup>

Bulfinch's Library of Congress remained in use until its destruction by fire in December 1851, when Thomas Ustick Walter rebuilt it in cast iron, to

5. Montgomery Schuyler, in the *Architectural Record*, xxx, 1911, 66.

6. Mrs. H. M. Pierce Gallagher, *Robert Mills: Architect of the Washington Monument, 1781-1855*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1935.

7. Brown, *op. cit.*, pl. 104.

8. See the author's *Town and Davis: Pioneer Revivalists in American Architecture* (in press).

render it fireproof, in accordance with his splendid Neo-Baroque designs for the great Senate and House wings and magnificent cast iron dome.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that Bulfinch's drawing for the Library of Congress represents a typically Classic Revival design of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, restrained in feeling, and delicate in modeling. As executed at Columbia, S. C.

*circa* 1840, it must even then have looked a bit old-fashioned in comparison with the more robust and richer Greek Revival then at the height of fashion. But Mills always remained true to his Latrobian training.

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## EXHIBITION REVIEWS

### THE EXHIBITION OF SPANISH PAINTING AT THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

BY WALTER W. S. COOK

Of the various exhibitions related to Spanish painting held in this country during the past season, the finest and most extensive was that held in the Toledo Museum of Art during the months of March and April. This exhibition was a comprehensive ensemble, including examples of Spanish painting from the Romanesque period through Goya, and contributions were made by the most important art museums and private collectors of this country. It was organized and arranged by Mr. Josep Gudiol, who during the past year was Carnegie Professor of Spanish Art at the Toledo Museum.

The earliest example shown was the series of mural paintings in fresco from the Mozarabic chapel of S. Baudelio de Berlanga. In order to exhibit in an appropriate atmosphere this important specimen of twelfth-century painting, the chapel of Berlanga was reconstructed, in slightly smaller scale than the original, but large enough to display on its walls the large compositions, including biblical subjects and an unusually interesting series of hunting scenes. The vaults of the reconstructed chapel were decorated to complete the idea of the colorful aspect of a Romanesque church. The effect of the hall was magnificent and represented one of the greatest efforts ever made to present to the public a set of Romanesque frescoes, properly lighted and built into a suitable structure.

The evolution of Spanish painting was portrayed by a large group of Spanish panels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The early Gothic period, when Spanish schools were thoroughly influenced by the Franco-Gothic style, was represented by an altar-frontal with scenes from the Passion, in the typical style of the school of Navarre about the year 1300. The Aragonese school of the same period was represented by two panels with similar iconography which had never been exhibited before. The local schools of the fourteenth century were represented by the fine polyptych from The Pierpont Morgan Library, which after having been attributed for many years to various localities, was finally grouped correctly with a number of panels and manuscripts painted in the region of Barcelona in the second half of the fourteenth century. Jaime Serra was illustrated by a large *Adoration of the Shepherds*, again an unknown panel and one of the best works of the early period of this important Catalan master. The brilliant *Christ before Pilate*, dating about 1420, has all the qualities of Luis Borrassá, the painter from Gerona, who was the earliest exponent of the International Style in Spain.

The retable of S. Michel, one of the recent acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum, represented the rich development of the International Style in Valencia during the first half of the fifteenth century. The later development of this style in the same school was exemplified by three beautiful feminine martyr

saints by Jacomart, its greatest exponent in the middle of the fifteenth century. Martín de Soria, with his large retable of St. Anthony Abbot and St. Michel, closed the cycle of Gothic painting in the Iberian peninsula, joining the qualities of the Aragonese tradition with the style of Jaime Huguet.

The Hispano-Flemish style which developed in Castile during the second half of the fifteenth century is unusually well represented in this country. The Toledo exhibition included one of the predecessors of this style, Juan de Burgos, who signed an *Annunciation* on panel, which still retains some of the characteristics of the work of the famous painter of Leon, Nicolas Francés. Fernando Gallego, a follower of Dirk Bouts, was represented by an *Epiphany*, which is one of the important acquisitions of the Toledo Museum of Art.

The transition from the Gothic schools to the Renaissance was illustrated by the *Adoration of the Magi* by the Játiva Master, the *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, a section of the miniature painted by Juan de Flandes for Isabella of Castile, and an *Epiphany*, in which probably the hands of Osona, father and son, collaborated.

The sixteenth century in Spain is still a virgin field in art history. Most of the masters are still involved in a nebulous uncertainty, although they created important masterpieces. The reason why these artists are so little known in this country is that their works for the most part still hang in the places for which they were originally produced. Only a few painters of the school founded by Philip II of Madrid have achieved the rank of the better-known masters of the seventeenth century. Alonso Sánchez Coello, the most prominent among the Madrid school of the sixteenth century, was represented in Toledo by the striking portrait of a prince, probably the young Philip III, painted about 1575.

The Toledo exhibition gave to El Greco a special room. The great Cretan artist was represented by paintings of his different periods. The famous *Expulsion from the Temple* with the portraits of Titian, Michelangelo, and Giulio Clovio, from the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, shows the last phase of his Roman style and already possesses some of the qualities of his large paintings of S. Domingo el Antiguo in Toledo. The *Annunciation* from the Coe collection in Cleveland characterized the period about 1585, when El Greco painted his great *S. Mauricio* for the Escorial. The subsequent period could be seen in the *Agony in the Garden*, from the Arthur Sachs collection, and the impressive bust of *Christ Embracing the Cross*. The charming *Holy Family*, which was probably one of the models painted by the master in preparation for his larger compositions, begins to show some of the distortions which developed during his latest period, represented in the Toledo Museum by the *Crucifixion* with the view of Toledo.

Other painters in Spain contemporary with El Greco's last period, whose works were included in the exhibition, were the Milanese Juan Bautista Maino (*Portrait of a Man*), and the Carthusian monk Juan Sánchez Cotán, represented by a highly realistic still life; José Ribera, the Valencian painter, the most

prominent master of the Spanish Tenebrists, who showed the tactile qualities of his sculptural technique in a *St. Peter* painted around 1630, in the *Geographer* from the Boston Museum, the *Portrait of a Musician*, owned by the Toledo Museum, and a magnificent *St. Jerome*, loaned by the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University.

Francisco Herrera, one of the pioneers of the school of Seville in the seventeenth century, was shown by one of the few paintings of this artist in this country, the *Drinker* from the Worcester Art Museum. Velasquez, the most prominent painter formed in this school, was honored in this exhibition by an unusual ensemble of his paintings, covering his earliest period, when he was a pupil of Pacheco, until his latest style, when he was the royal painter at the court of Philip IV. His paintings, which like those of El Greco were displayed in a special room, were the *St. Simon and the Servant*, both painted around 1619 in Seville; the *Portrait of a Man*; the *Man with a Wine-Glass*, and the *Head of a Woman*, belonging to his first Madrid period. The *Head of Apollo*, a study for his *Forge of Vulcan*, shows the simplification of his technique at the time of his first trip to Italy. The amazing portrait of the Infanta Margareta, a canvas which has recently been acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts of San Diego, California, is an admirable example of the painter's late style.

Francisco de Zurbarán and Bartolomé Murillo, the two leading painters of the school of Seville during the seventeenth century, were also excellently represented in Toledo. The powerful realism of Zurbarán, with his simple and clear manner of representing masses, with the striking use of whites and frank tonalities, was well exemplified by the *Flight into Egypt*, the *Legend of the Bell*, and the great *St. Jerome*. One of the great masterpieces of Murillo was shown, the *St. Thomas of Villanueva Dividing his Clothes among the Beggar Boys*, one of the treasures of the

Cincinnati Art Museum. The nebulous quality and elaborate technique could also be studied in the scene of *St. Giles before Pope Gregory IX*, the landscape scene with *Jacob and Rachel at the Well*, and the impressive *Portrait of a Man* from St. Louis. Alonso Cano, the sculptor and painter of Granada, was represented by a *St. Lawrence* from the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City; Francisco Collantes, with his *Hagar and Ishmael*, and Carreño de Miranda, with his *Baptism of Christ*, represented the school of Madrid after Velasquez.

A still life by Luis Menéndez opened the chapter of eighteenth-century painting, dominated by the great genius Francisco Goya, who was represented in the exhibition at Toledo by no less than eighteen paintings. His early period was exemplified by the beautiful tapestry cartoons representing *Two Gossiping Women* and the delightful *Winter Landscape*, painted for his protectors, the Dukes of Osuna. The great canvas, the *Majas on the Balcony*, shows the climax of his technical development. The impressionistic quality of his last period, when he was perturbed by the tragedy of the Napoleonic War in Spain, is apparent in his *Escape from a Burning Town*, the *Bullfight*, the *St. Paul*, strangely reminiscent of the Spanish Baroque style, and especially in the great portrait of the architect Juan Antonio Cuervo.

This memorable exhibition of Spanish painting was a manifestation of the active life of the Toledo Museum of Art and of Mr. Blake-More Godwin, its director. It has left a permanent record with the publication of a short history of Spanish painting, illustrated with the works exhibited on this occasion as well as by other examples of Spanish painting in American collections. It is a concise, clearly-written résumé by Mr. Josep Gudiol, which for the first time gives a comprehensive study of the evolution of all Spanish painting from the Middle Ages through Goya.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

## BOOK AND PERIODICAL REVIEWS

The following review initiates a series of reviews of periodical literature, which we hope will be of bibliographical and particularly of critical value to readers of the ART BULLETIN. Ed.

### RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE ON 17TH-CENTURY PAINTING IN THE NETHERLANDS AND GERMANY

Any survey of the research work in art history published in periodicals during the last two years must because of circumstances be fragmentary, since war conditions make it impossible to consult a number of recent issues of European periodicals. For this reason alone, the following attempt to cover the field of Netherlandish and German painting of the seventeenth century cannot possibly achieve completeness. As compensation for this and many other deficiencies, attention will be called to some valuable contributions which appeared slightly prior to 1939 but may not have been sufficiently noticed. Drawings and graphic arts have been included. With some exceptions, the production seems comparatively slight as regards both quantity and quality.

#### SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS

Leo van Puyvelde has published additional authenticated works by Rubens' teacher ADAM VAN NOORT ("Nouvelles œuvres d'Adam van Noort, maître de Rubens," *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 1, 1938, 157-61) which tend to corroborate the impression that from that very traditional painter, Rubens could hardly have profited more than "le maniement de la pâte et la bonne facture soignée." Curiously enough, all of them represent the *Last Supper* and were painted about 1610-20; incidentally, the two earliest ones must be considered among the possible sources of Gustavus Hesselius' rendering of the same subject for St. Barnabas Church in Queen Anne's County, Maryland.

An article on RUBENS of outstanding importance appeared in *Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, N.F. XIII, 1938/39, 185 ff. Its author, E. Kieser, has made excellent contributions to the study of Rubens' work, published in earlier issues of the same periodical. The present article deals with Rubens' *Silenus* in Munich and its predecessors. The probable original of the first version of this favorite subject of Rubens is, according to Kieser, the picture in the Durazzo-Pallavicini Palace in Genoa, of which copies exist in Würzburg and in Munich (by Teniers); the composition was engraved by Carlo Faucci in the year 1763. This version, painted ca. 1612, is very closely related to Rubens' *Ecce Homo* composition of approximately the same date (probably known through copies only: Würzburg Residence, formerly in Schleissheim; for a better version see *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F. XVIII, 1907, 38). It was influenced by ancient sources (head of Silenus), Caravaggio, and mainly Titian's *Ecce Homo* (cf. the copy in Augsburg). The second "state" of this composition, done ca. 1615, seems again to have survived in copies only (Cassel); the third, again somewhat later, is the

famous picture in the Munich Pinakothek. The article is written in excellent style; the analyses of the iconographic and formal evolution are penetrating and convincing.

The entire June 1940 number of the *Burlington Magazine* (vol. LXXVI) was dedicated to Rubens on the occasion of the tercentenary of his death. An article by G. Glück on "Rubens as Portrait Painter" (pp. 173-83) reviews an important field of the master's activity from the first dated painting, the portrait of 1597 in the Blank collection in Newark, N. J., to some of his later, more representative achievements, including a recently-discovered full-length likeness of Archduke Albert (possibly the one mentioned in a document of October 13, 1615), and the magnificent companion pieces representing Louis XIII and Anne of France which are now in this country. Christopher Norris ("Rubens before Italy," pp. 184-94) deals with a much more delicate subject. His careful analysis of all available data, his evaluation of van Veen's influence on Rubens, his attribution to Rubens of the putti-frame around van Veen's portrait of Archduke Albert in the Albertina, make his article a most valuable contribution, even if the correctness of his ingenious attributions of the Caravaggesque *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* (L. Burchard collection) and of the slightly more "Flemish"-looking *Tobias Returning with the Angel* should not be borne out by further research. Among the copies by Rubens after Italian masters, reviewed and partly rediscovered by J. Q. van Regteren Altena ("Rubens as a Draughtsman, I: Relations to Italian Art," pp. 194-200), a magnificent second version of Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari* in the collection of the Queen of the Netherlands is the most important item, not only for its connection with Rubens. There are many other excellent observations to be found in this article.

"Rubens, his Spirit and Style," is the title of an essay by L. van Puyvelde published in *Parnassus*, XI, February 1939, 5-9.

The valuable and presumably only too short-lived *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* contains in its first volume (1938) some further contributions to Rubens. J. Zarnowski (pp. 163-69) publishes a recently-discovered sketch for the *Road to Calvary*. It is the original of Pietro Monaco's engraving of 1763 and was acquired by the Warsaw Museum. The author agrees with Antal (*Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIV, 1923, 65) in placing it considerably before any work done in connection with the large composition painted for the abbey of Affligem in 1634; he dates this sketch slightly earlier than the version engraved by Pontius, namely ca. 1615. Zarnowski's article was written when the Brussels Museum acquired another sketch of this composition, reproduced in the same *Annuaire*. G. Glück (pp. 151-56) publishes as by Rubens a composition of the *Massacre of the Innocents* which had been tentatively attributed by the Brussels Museum to Anton Sellaert. It is rather closely related to Tintoretto's representation of the same subject in San Rocco, known in the Nether-



lands through an anonymous engraving which was later wrongly inscribed as "Vorsterman after Rubens," possibly on account of a Rubens copy after Tintoretto's work. The Brussels painting, already published and attributed by Oldenbourg to an anonymous early Rubens pupil, looks very much like a Rubens composition of about 1610, although its execution seems to be rather weak, a fact admitted by Glück who had been shown, by L. Burchard, the photograph of a seemingly better version which was in Germany in 1926. A *Massacre* by Rubens in his "eerste manier" was in the hands of an art dealer in 1698 and may well be identified with the Brussels picture or its original. Paul Jamot (pp. 157-61) has written a short and amusing essay on "Chapeau de Paille ou Chapeau de Poil," the gist of which is contained in its title. The name now generally given to Rubens' famous portrait of Suzanna Fourment is rather recent; as late as 1877 the picture was called "Chapeau Espagnol"; and it is indeed quite possible that the title was originally "Chapeau de Poil" and has been mistakenly changed to "Chapeau de Paille" since the arrival of the picture in London.

Julius Held's article on "Rubens' *King of Tunis* and Vermeyen's Portrait of Mulay Ahmad" (*Art Quarterly*, III, 1940, 173-81) is an interesting study of Rubens' relationship to, and copying of, works of older masters. The impressive work, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, corresponds exactly to an etching done by Jan Vermeyen about 1535, except for its being in reverse, a fact which suggests that Rubens, when painting this work about 1609/10, used as his model a lost painting by Vermeyen rather than the etching. The two other recent Rubens acquisitions of the Boston Museum, the portrait of Isabella Brant and the *Queen Tomyris*, are published in the Museum's *Bulletin* by W. G. Constable (xxxvii, 1939, 2) and C. C. Cunningham (xxxix, 1941, 35-40).

The delicate problem whether or not Rubens was in the habit of making any compositional pen and ink sketches for paintings is tackled in a short article by L. van Puyvelde in *Pantheon*, xxiii, 1939, 75-80. The author assumes a rather radical attitude by denying any considerable use of this method on the part of Rubens, except for the earlier period and in a desultory fashion thereafter, thus placing himself in sharp opposition to a great number of Rubens scholars (see also the same author's *Rubens Skizzen*, Frankfurt, 1939, and *Catalogue de l'Exposition "Desins de P.-P. Rubens,"* Brussels, 1938-39). Van Puyvelde harks back to this question in an article "On Rubens Drawings" in the *Burlington Magazine*, lxxvii, 1940, 123-27, where he publishes a pen-and-ink study for a part of Rubens' *Battle between Constantine and Maxentius* which belongs to the Louis XIII tapestry series. As to the color sketch for this composition, he substitutes the version in the F. Stern collection in New York for the copy in Würzburg, after which he reviews the other original color sketches for the same series.

H. G. Evers deals in *Pantheon* (xxv, 1940, 103-111) with Rubens' battle pieces, and in *Das Werk des Künstlers* (I, 1939, 400-410) with his *Defeat of Senacherib*. In *Die Kunst*, lxxxi, 1940, 220-26, U.

Christoffel writes on Rubens as landscape painter.

In a comparative analysis of VAN DYCK's *St. Martin* at Windsor and at Saventhem (*Burlington Magazine*, lxxvii, 1940, 37-42), van Puyvelde places the Saventhem version as early as about 1615, and the one in Windsor about 1620 (after preparation of the main changes in the Holford and the Toledo, Ohio, sketches). Operating exclusively on stylistic grounds, he refutes the customary dating of the Saventhem picture (1621) as wholly unsupported by any documents, and convincingly eliminates any possibility of the attribution of the damaged and partly over-painted Windsor version to Rubens.

A little masterpiece is Charles Sterling's article on "Van Dyck's Paintings of St. Rosalie" (*Burlington Magazine*, lxxiv, 1939, 53-62). Two recently-found versions of this subject have led the author to review the whole complex of pictures painted by van Dyck in Palermo during the great plague of 1624 as some kind of prayers for intercession. G. Glück's "Notes on van Dyck's Stay in Italy" (pp. 207-208) emphasize the fact that van Dyck copied a great number of Italian pictures and tried to become as "Italian" as possible, even before he left Antwerp for the South.

In *Art in America*, xxviii, 1940, 3-8, L. van Puyvelde reaffirms the attribution of the portrait of Isabella Brant in the National Gallery at Washington to van Dyck. This view is shared—no doubt correctly so—by Charles de Tolnay in his valuable summary of the wonderful collection of van Dyck portraits in Washington (*Magazine of Art*, xxxiv, 1941, 191-98).

An article on CORNELIS DE VOS as a portraitist, by Edith Greindl (*Pantheon*, xxiii, 1939, 109-114) is valuable mainly because of its good illustrations.

As to JORDAENS, the reader is referred to J. Held's excellent article on "Jordaens' Portraits of his Family" in the *ART BULLETIN* (xxii, 1940, 70-82), and to the same author's discussion of "Unknown Paintings by Jordaens in America," *Parnassus*, xii, March 1940, 26-29. (See also under Rembrandt, below, p. 228.)

The development of BROUWER's compositions is treated by L. van Puyvelde in the *Burlington Magazine*, lxxvii, 1940, 140-44, in a rather sketchy manner. He bases his remarks mainly on a hitherto unknown enlarged version of the signed *Company of Peasants Singing* in the former M. Kappel collection. However, the emptiness and the meticulous copying of details found in the new picture seems to compare most unfavorably with the concise quality of the earlier composition.

A charming single-figure piece by DAVID RYCKAERT III in the Cleveland Museum was published by D. F. Darby (*Art in America*, xxviii, 1940, 98-108), together with a useful survey of the artist's œuvre. E. Laloire writes on "Le Peintre J. VAN SCHUPPEN et le Marquis de Westerloo" (in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, ix, 1939, 21-36; not accessible to this writer). A short article on "Drawings of JAN WILDENS" by A. J. J. van Delen (*Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, I, 1938, 171-76) fails to contribute the secure data so much needed on this rather enigmatic artist. The three published drawings are by at least two different

artists, and there is still no telling whose they actually are.

## HOLLAND

Two articles in the *Art Quarterly* undertake to deal with broader aspects of Dutch painting in the seventeenth century: Adolph Goldschmidt writes on "The Style of Dutch Painting in the Seventeenth Century" (II, 1939, 3-18), and E. P. Richardson on "The Romantic Prelude to Dutch Realism" (III, 1940, 40-78).

It is to be regretted that Goldschmidt has not had (or taken) the opportunity to give his statements a more elaborate substructure. It would have been most gratifying to follow the Nestor of German art history (to whom, in the field of Dutch art, we owe such splendid work as the rediscovery of Willem Buytewech) with leisure, on his way through the maze of Dutch painting of the seventeenth century, without being compelled to read scores of reservations between the lines or to pose questions for which the author might easily have provided the answers. As everyone would expect, the article contains a great number of excellent observations and intimations, for example on the qualities of figure grouping during the three periods of multiplicity, unification, and new dispersion (the third of which is partly a synthesis of the two previous ones)—those periods which have been traced by other writers mainly as to their differences in color and general composition. But there remain many open issues and a number of rather challenging statements which would have to be qualified and clarified before one could accept this article with complete satisfaction.

A different question is raised by Mr. Richardson's article. This is mainly a problem of chronology or rather of periodicity. It is to be feared that his theory of a "romantic" phase of Dutch art from about 1600 to 1630 will hardly be accepted as it stands. The author gives a rather broad definition of romanticism ("the tendency to push outward to the frontiers of experience, toward the strange, the individual, the marvelous, the intensely personal, to follow the lead of the emotions toward a dramatic and spontaneous expression"), and contrasts it with classicism. Considering his particular topic, this amounts to contrasting romanticism with late mannerism. As to the new realism, the border-lines between it and romanticism are not very meticulously drawn: witness the above quotation and the author's interpretation of Frans Hals. The resulting differentiations are perfectly justified in terms of categories but hardly of chronology. The author's excellent analysis of the landscapes of Vinckboons, Coninxloo, and Savery, and of such paintings as Vredeman de Vries' architectural fantasies, fully proves the presence of a romantic trend in early seventeenth-century Dutch painting; but was this really a *phase*, a "prelude" to realism, or even a transition from mannerism to realism? It seems that the dates would not permit such an interpretation. There is romanticism in many of Cornelis van Haarlem's paintings of the 1590's (e.g. the *Garden of Love* of 1596 in Potsdam) and most certainly in Goltzius' chiaroscuro landscapes of the same period; there is romanticism—granted by the author—in Seghers' works (including some later ones)

and in Rembrandt's oeuvre, again admitted by the author, who tends to see Rembrandt's final solitude as caused by the turning away of the public from romanticism to classicism; and is not Ruisdael's *Jewish Cemetery* romantic also (see the author's definition quoted above)? In other words, is there not a romantic "trend" in late mannerism of the 1590's (cf. also van Mander's landscapes), in Coninxloo, in Seghers, in A. van der Neer's moonlight scenes, and in Jacob van Ruisdael, Hobbema, and Philip Koninck? And did not, at the same time, classicistic "possibilities" exist in the works of the late Cornelis van Haarlem and other Haarlem classicists such as Salomon de Bray and Pieter de Grebber, which link late mannerism with the decoration of the Amsterdam Town Hall and the Huis ten Bosch? And did not in the meantime realism actually develop from late mannerism (again van Mander, or Cornelis van Haarlem's and Ketel's group portraits, which are the immediate harbingers of Frans Hals's of 1616) via Cornelis Visscher, Buytewech, Esajas and Jan van de Velde, right into Molijn's and van Goyen's integrated works of the 'thirties? All of which seems to show that here, as often, development proper was restricted to the problem whose solution was the actual "task" of the period, whereas "classicism" and "romanticism" are indicative of attitudes rather than of an evolution.

"Reflections on Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting" were published by J. Held in *Parnassus*, XI, February 1939, 17-18.

The problem of REMBRANDT'S *Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis* has once more come to the fore on the occasion of the restoration of the gallery in the Amsterdam Town Hall for which it was painted. In an article published in *De Gids* as early as November 1937, Arnoldus Noach had endeavored to show that the current conception of an irreconcilable antagonism between the classicists and the late Rembrandt, which would have led of necessity to a refusal of Rembrandt's grandiose work for the Town Hall, could not be accepted. In an article in *Oud Holland* ("De Maaltijd in het Schakerbosch en de Versiering van het Stadhuis," LVI, 1939, 145-57), the same author has tried to fortify his position. According to his theory, the changes asked of Rembrandt by the authorities were necessitated by architectural alterations. The vaultings were first planned as elliptical and even executed as elliptical wooden emergency vaultings (in 1659 for the visit of Amalia of Solms), when they were hastily decorated with Govaert Flinck's provisional sketches. The compositions of Rembrandt as well as those of some other painters were then planned and completed with elliptical tops. When the stone vaults were eventually executed with round tops (1662), the compositions of the paintings had to be adjusted to that change. Although Rembrandt made a sketch indicating such an alteration, the picture was returned to him, possibly because he asked more for the alterations than Ovens did for his entire new work (48 guilders!), whereupon it was cut into its present format. The interpretation and chronological order of Rembrandt's sketches would consequently have to be the following: Hofstede de Groot 411; HdG 409 (as a *modello* for his patrons who

commissioned him with the work after Flinck's death in 1660; not immediately destined for execution but close to the final form); after finishing the picture, HdG 412, with indications of the change to a round top. HdG 410 is considered as a sketch for a different subject, the *Peace between Romans and Batavians*, and not by Rembrandt (Lievens?). Jordaens, too, had his pictures returned to him in 1666; the present renderings of *Victory* and *Peace* are not accepted by the author as genuine Jordaens paintings, but as imitations by Ovens in Jordaens' manner. It seems hardly possible to form an opinion on this very skillfully presented theory without having had an opportunity to review the entire material in the original and from many points of view. Suffice it to remind the reader of the fact that Valentiner (*Klassiker der Kunst*) has rejected all the sketches except HdG 409, which he considers (contrary to Bauch and in agreement with Noach) as a preparatory drawing, but as the only genuine one. If HdG 412 is a forgery (Valentiner), Noach's ingenious theory would not collapse entirely but would become very shaky, and the interpretation which blames the classicistic taste of the burgomasters for the rejection of Rembrandt's works would not have been convincingly refuted—particularly since Noach himself is inclined to believe that the burgomasters preferred an Ovens at 48 guilders to a Rembrandt that would have cost them more. The older theory was upheld and rather successfully vindicated in an interesting article by H. van de Waal which appeared after Noach's article of 1937, but before the one just dealt with ("Tempesta en de Historie-Schilderingen op het Amsterdamsche Raadhuis," *Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, 49–65). He emphasizes the influence exerted in various degrees upon the present classicistic decorations by Tempesta's etchings after van Veen, and advances the opinion that Rembrandt's work was rejected because he refused to make use of the same source in a similar spirit. A slight methodical drawback of his analysis of the changes made by Tempesta in his adaptation of van Veen's compositions lies in the fact that van Veen's originals have not survived, but have to be hypothetically reconstructed from a different set of paintings by the same master illustrating the same subject matter.

The question which of the many versions of Rembrandt's early representation of the *Thirty Pieces of Silver* is the original, seems to have been definitely decided in favor of the picture in Lord Moyne's collection, since recent cleaning has revealed the monogram and the date 1629 (C. H. Collins Baker, "Rembrandt's *Thirty Pieces of Silver*," *Burlington Magazine*, lxxv, 1939, 179–80, with good reproductions). The attribution to Rembrandt of a *Diogenes* in a private collection at Budapest (A. Bredius, *Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, 159) must provoke severe doubts; certainly it cannot have been done by Rembrandt about 1630, as suggested by Bredius.

Rembrandt's *Philemon and Baucis* in the Widener collection has been studied by the present writer in connection with a survey of the representations of the same story by other masters and their relationship to the *Supper at Emmaus* subject (in press in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, iv, 1940/41); an ar-

ticle on a representation of this story by E. DE WITTE, dated 1647, has not been accessible to me (Jhr. van Rijckevorsel, in *Historia*, 1938).

In a valuable study of "Rembrandt's Technical Means and their Stylistic Significance" (*Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts*, viii, 1940, 193–206), Jakob Rosenberg attempts "to find the technical features which all three categories of Rembrandt's work have in common" and identifies these with the chiaroscuro in the sense of a "fusion between the visible and the invisible," the chiaroscuro that "suggests a space which is never sharply limited but seems to be part of the infinite space around and behind the forms." The article speaks eloquently in favor of a much-needed synthesis of technical and stylistic research.

In the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, iii, 1939/40, 119 ff., Ludwig Münz discusses "Rembrandt's *Synagogue* and Some Problems of Nomenclature," without attaining any definite results as to the subject of the former etching (not pure genre; "Judas Despised"?). The states of the *Jan Six* etching are reviewed and augmented (one impression of a state between I and II) by I. de Bruyn (*Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, 193); the same author makes a contribution to the titles of Rembrandt etchings (p. 15), as do, once more, J. G. and N. F. van Gelder (pp. 87–88). The iconographical and stylistic development of the *Presentation in the Temple* in Rembrandt's work, with the main emphasis on the latest etching (B.50), has been traced by the present writer ("Rembrandt's *Presentation in the Dark Manner*," *Print Collector's Quarterly*, xxvii, 1940, 365–79).

An important discovery concerning Rembrandt's *Alchemist* or *Dr. Faust* (B. 270) was published by M. Bojanowski ("Das Anagramm in Rembrandt's *Faust*," *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, xvi, 1938, 527–30). He has found the correct reading of the cryptic words in the outer circle of light which surrounds the inner circle (containing the promising *Adam, te adgeram*), and the center with the symbol of Christ. They read: *Tangas larga, latet amor*, the missing *O* being provided by the roundel to which the hand of the spirit points. "*Tangas larga*: even if you extend your investigation over the whole world you will fail to grasp one little but decisive thing: in the alphabet of science the very letter is missing which reveals the secret of the Divine Love." In a supplementary note (*ibid.*, xviii, 1940, 112–115), E. Kieser shows convincingly that the *O* is, at the same time, a mirror reflecting the death-skull which lies on a board behind the alchemist: *amor* implies *mors*, and "only in the face of death—and at the price of death—can man solve the eternal enigma." It is, indeed, *Dr. Faust*.

O. Benesch's investigation of a hitherto little-noticed brush drawing by Rembrandt (*Art Quarterly*, iii, 1940, 3–14) provides the reader with a penetrating analysis of Rembrandt's habit of drawing members of his family in the evening hours, and the artistic results of this habit, such as, for example, his assimilation of the use of "Caravaggesque" artificial light. However, the very early date assigned by Benesch to this drawing (ca. 1628) cannot but provoke



doubts, which have already been voiced by Valentiner, who, in a note attached to the article, dates the drawing about 1636. The stylistic parallels drawn by Benesch are not quite convincing; the same is true of his identifications of members of Rembrandt's family, one of whom looks very much like Saskia, as has already been suggested by J. Q. van Regteren Altena. The article is nevertheless most valuable, and the more so because of Valentiner's added publication of the recently-discovered *Touch*, one of the early painted series of the *Five Senses* (van Aalst collection).

A beautiful Rembrandt drawing of the 'fifties representing *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* was acquired by the Barber Institute of Fine Arts at Birmingham University and published by A. M. Hind in the *Burlington Magazine* (LXXVIII, 1941, 92-95). For other publications of Rembrandt drawings see *Old Master Drawings*, XIV, 1939, 57-58 (N. S. Trivas) and page 59 (A. P. Oppé).

An article on "Brouwer's Influence on Rembrandt" (*Art Quarterly*, IV, 1941, 40-54), in which A. Heppner strives hard to point out relations in subject matter and style between Brouwer and early works, mostly drawings, by Rembrandt, does not seem to carry much conviction, with perhaps one exception (*Woman Making Pancake*: Brouwer's painting in Basel and Rembrandt's drawing in Amsterdam). Most of the juxtapositions attest parallel interests and similar means of expression, rather than "influences."

The much-discussed problem of Rembrandt's hypothetical trip to England in 1640 has been taken up in an interesting article by A. Welcker ("Schildersportretten, 1: G. Flinck," *Oud Holland*, LVII, 1940, 115-22). A drawing of a self-portrait by GOVAERT FLINCK was done on the back of a sheet of diary which contains a list of expenses written in English. F. Lugt had already attributed some of the landscape drawings which show English views and were supposed to prove a trip by Rembrandt to England, to the same pupil of the master. Welcker leaves, with Valentiner, only the Berlin drawing of St. Paul's in London to Rembrandt himself, and considers it a work done by Rembrandt in Amsterdam under the inspiration of Flinck's similar drawing in Vienna, which was made on the spot about 1640.

Articles on Rembrandt which this writer has not been able to see deal with the *Anatomy of Dr. Tulp* (H. Schrader, *Das Werk des Künstlers*, I, 1939, 60-100), the *Jeremiah* of 1630 (F. Schmidt-Degener, *Mededeelingen van het Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunst en Wetenschappen*, 1939), and with the portrait of Maerten van Looten (J. G. van Dillen, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 1939).

Rembrandt's correspondence with Constantin Huygens relating to the *Passion* series of the 'thirties has been reprinted by Jhr. van Rijckevorsel in *Historia*, 1938 (see also B. H. Molkenboer in *Vondel-Kroniek*, 1939).

The attributions of Rembrandt's *Samson Berating his Father-in-Law* in Berlin to LIEVENS, and of the Beresteyn portraits in New York to BACKER, have been rightly refuted by J. Held in his review of A. Burroughs' *Art Criticism from a Laboratory*, published in this periodical (XXII, 1940, 41-42).

An important study has been dedicated to WILLEM DROST (W. R. Valentiner, "Willem Drost, Pupil of Rembrandt," *Art Quarterly*, II, 1939, 295-325). Documents are extremely scarce; in fact, only a single one points vaguely to his having been a pupil of Rembrandt. Possibly coming from Germany (the portrait in the Warburg collection is signed "Wilhelm Drost"), the artist seems to have gone to Italy soon after 1656 and to have lived in Rotterdam in 1680. There are no more than four signed paintings and two signed etchings; two more paintings are pretty well authenticated by eighteenth-century reproductions bearing his name. Among the attributions, Valentiner now includes the *Sibyl* in New York, the striking new acquisition of the Chicago Art Institute, which according to Valentiner does not represent *Eli and Samuel* but the *Departure of Benjamin from Jacob* (I fail to see Drost's hand in this picture, as I still do in the Cassel *Halberdier*), and the *Hendrickje* (?) in Dresden. The copy of the latter picture in New York, formerly given to Rembrandt by Hofstede de Groot and Valentiner himself, he now tentatively attributes (with Bredius) to B. FABRITIUS, to whom the Dresden version had wrongly been given before. (I have for many years been convinced that Drost was the author of the Dresden picture.) Some other paintings are given to Drost's "Italian" period; they show relationship to Jan Lys, and also to Carl Loth, with whom Drost stayed in Rome.

Another Rembrandt pupil, this one of Danish origin, was BERNARD KEIL, whom Drost might have met in Rome. R. Longhi ("Monsù Bernardo," *Critica d'arte*, XVI-XVIII, 1939) gives to him a large number of the pictures ascribed by H. Voss to Amorosi. In this connection it may be useful to refer to the less recent article by R. A. Peltzer on "Christoph Paudiss und seine Tätigkeit in Freising" (*Müncher Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F. XII, 1937/38, 251-80), which contains important documents and valuable reproductions.

A. Bredius ("Een vroeg werk van CAREL FABRITIUS," *Oud Holland*, LVI, 1939, 3-14) gives a good many reasons for attributing to a very early period of Carel Fabritius a large painting representing *The Amalekite Bringing Saul's Crown to David*. In spite of many clumsy and awkward features, the picture shows remarkable affinities with later works of the master. If it is his, it must precede the recently-discovered *Raising of Lazarus* in Warsaw, which is more integrated in movement and composition. Bredius dates the *David* from Fabritius' apprenticeship with Rembrandt, ca. 1642-44, but it is definitely less Rembrandtesque than the Warsaw picture. Non liquet. Jhr. van Rijckevorsel ("David en de Amelachiet door Carel Fabritius," *Historia*, V, 1939, 55-57) seems to have dealt with the same picture.

Among the "Four Paintings of the Rembrandt School at Boston," published by C. Cunningham in *Art in America*, XXVIII, 1940, 185-90, a self-portrait by BARENT FABRITIUS is the most important one; the others are by G. VAN DEN ECKHOUT, FERDINAND BOL, and AERT DE GELDER.

A. Welcker concludes his series of articles on "JOHANNES RUYSCHE alias Jonge Hercules" in *Oud Holland*, LVII, 1940, 28-39. Three etchings which are

close to Rembrandt point definitely to his having been a pupil of Rembrandt's, and the frequent appearance of views of Cleves in Ruyscher's work is accounted for by his having served as "Kurfürstlich brandenburgischer Landschaftenmaler" in that very town. In *Pantheon*, xxv, 1940, 13-16, H. Dattenberg deals with drawings by LAMBERT DOOMER.

The iconography of FRANS HALS's portraits has been enriched by an article of K. Erasmus (*Burlington Magazine*, lxxv, 1939, 236-39), in which the male subject of a pair of 1638, formerly in the J. P. Morgan collection, is identified with Andries van der Horn, a prominent citizen of Haarlem who was also represented by Hals in his 1638 *Shooting Company* and by Jan de Bray in a portrait of 1662, formerly in the Six collection.

On VERMEER VAN DELFT see the excellent article by Trautscholdt in Thieme-Becker's *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, xxxiv, 1940.

An interior by PIETER DE HOOCH, signed and dated 1658, was discovered in a private collection in Paris and published by A. Bredius (*Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, 127).

Two interesting articles have been dedicated to a much neglected topic: the iconographical aspect of the art of JAN STEEN. A. Heppner ("The Popular Theatre of the Rederijkers in the Work of Jan Steen and his Contemporaries," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, iii, 1939/40, 22 ff.) carefully expands Dr. van Gils's observations made in *Op de Hoogte* (Haarlem, March 1937, 92) towards a thorough investigation of the relationship between the contemporary stage, particularly of the Rederijker clubs, and such works by Jan Steen as *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Seleucus and Stratonice* (for this compare also the important thesis by Louis Sorieri, *Boccaccio's Story of Tito e Gisippo in European Literature*, New York, 1937), *The Banquet of Esther*, and also his representations of the meetings of Rederijkers, etc. He comes to the conclusion that "Jan Steen . . . is never mocking or condescending, he always reports accurately, without parody; in his scenes from the Bible or antiquity, he drew living inspiration from the performances of the Rederijkers which were for him a bridge between nature and fantasy." J. B. F. van Gils was able to identify a picture by Steen which was formerly called *The Grotto of Neptune* (HdG 69b), as an interpretation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* viii-ix, the *Visit of Theseus to Achelous* (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 145-47; see also p. 192). The interpretation of the Brunswick *Wedding* picture as the *Wedding of Tobias* was repeated (see A. Fink in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, lx, 1926/27, 230) by K. E. Simon in an article which contains some other contributions to the problem, "Jan Steen and Utrecht" (*Pantheon*, xxvi, 1940, 162-65). For other works by Steen see W. R. Valentiner in the *Detroit Bulletin*, xix, 1939, 65-69, and W. H. Siple in the *Cincinnati Museum Bulletin*, x, 1939, 97-106.

Contributions to the study of the brothers VAN OSTADE and their circle are made by E. Scheyer ("Portraits of the Brothers van Ostade," *Art Quarterly*, ii, 1939, 134-41), A. Bredius ("Een en ander over Adriaen van Ostade," *Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, 241-46; cf. J. F. M. Sterck, *ibid.*, lvii, 1940, 139),

and A. Welcker ("Jan de Groot, leerling en navolger van A. van Ostade," *ibid.*, lvii, 1940, 149-58).

A good survey of the paintings of HERKULES SEGHERS is provided by E. Trautscholdt in *Pantheon*, xxv, 1940, 81-86.

The etchings by PAUL POTTER are discussed and catalogued by E. L. Allhusen in the *Print Collector's Quarterly*, xxvi, 1939, 209-223 and 335-47. A. Heppner writes on NICOLAES BERCHEM as illustrator of the New Testament (*Het Gildeboek*, 1940). On JAN VAN GOYEN see E. P. Richardson in the *Detroit Museum Bulletin*, xix, 1939, 12-17. The present writer has made a survey of SALOMON VAN RUYS-DAEL's paintings in America (*Art Quarterly*, ii, 1939, 251-64), and traced the history of a particular Venus and Cupid motive from Michelangelo, Parmegianino, and Lambert Sustis down to NICOLAES KNUFFER and his followers (*Art in America*, xxviii, 1940, 162-68). An Elsheimer-like *Philemon and Baucis* in Wanås, Sweden, is attributed to HENDRIK GOUDT on the ground of a number of related drawings (H. Weizsäcker, "Ein Gemälde von H. Goudt," *Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, 185-92). The paintings of the Frisian engraver PIETER FEDDES VAN HARLINGEN are discussed by A. P. A. Vorenkamp and A. Wasenbergh (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 1-13). The delicate question of the relationship between the etchings of W. BUYTEWECH and S. FRISIUS is treated by H. van de Waal (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 123-39). The article by V. Bloch on Haarlem classicists (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 14-21) discusses in a very cursory manner some aspects of the art of PIETER DE GREBBER, R. J. VAN BLOMMEDEAEL, and SALOMON DE BRAY. (I am not sure whether the long-awaited monograph on the latter master by Graf Moltke has been published; if so, it is presumably in the *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*.) "Een en ander over JAN OLIS" was published by A. Bredius (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 143-44). On JOHANNES TORRENTIUS compare, in addition to the recent monograph by A. J. Rehorst, an article by J. G. van Gelder in *Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 140-42. DANIEL WUCHTERS, a Dutch artist active in Russia, is dealt with by A. Miller (*Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 40-48) and H. Gerson (*ibid.*, pp. 239-40).

Two Dutch still-life painters have received careful treatment from biographical and stylistic points of view: JACOB VAN WALSCAPPELLE, whose real name was Jacob Cruydenier, born at Dordrecht in 1644 but active in Amsterdam, where he died in 1727 (J. Knoef, *Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, 261-64), and JAN JANSZ DEN UYL, most of whose pictures were hidden among works by other masters (P. de Boer, *Oud Holland*, lvii, 1940, 49-64).

An article by Sir Geoffrey Callender on WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE ELDER and his art (*Burlington Magazine*, lxxvi, 1940, 105-110) raises a difficult problem. If the huge *Tempest* in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich is really a work by the elder van de Velde, he seems to have equalled his famous son not only in quality but also in style, and many corrections would become necessary. But in spite of the fact that the author notes an "undoubted signature" of Willem van de Velde the Elder on this painting (no date is mentioned), it seems almost im-

possible to ascribe it to the same hand that did the old-fashioned, "stilted and theatrical" *Admiral Sir John Narbrough at Tripoli* of 1674, a picture which corresponds entirely to the style of the well-known *grisailles* of the older master. As I put down this question mark, a letter by E. Young to the *Burlington Magazine* (LXXVIII, 1941, 28-29) shows convincingly that the signature of the *Tempest* is far from being an "undoubted" one of the elder van de Velde and may just as well refer to his son.

A. Bredius ("Een en ander over HERMAN NAUWINCX," *Oud Holland*, LVIII, 1941, 18-22) accompanies a few data concerning that rare master with the reproductions of two paintings, a drawing, and an etching. W. Mautner ("Onbekende meesters—onbekende werken," *Oud Holland*, LVIII, 1941, 38-48) publishes ten works by rare masters—or works differing from the customary manner of their masters—which are apt to make one wonder where the other paintings of those masters are, or rather what attributions they may now be bearing.

Old Dutch formulas for etching prior to 1645 (that is, prior to A. Bosse) is the subject of an interesting article by J. G. van Gelder (*Oud Holland*, LVI, 1939, 113-24).

Many items from Dutch archives regarding painters are again published by the never-tiring A. Bredius in *Oud Holland*, including documents concerning an amusing law-suit brought by P. VAN SLINGELANDT against the heirs of a sitter of his (*Oud Holland*, LVII, 1940, 168-71).

For supplementary information compare H. E. van Gelder's "Survey of Literature concerning Dutch Art" in *Oud Holland*, LVII, 1939, 84-96. I am also indebted to the bibliographical lists published in the *Art Index* and in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*.

## GERMANY

For CHRISTOPHER PAUDISS see above, p. 229; also: A. M. Brizio, "Due dipinti inediti di Chr. Paudiss e Jan van Bylert nella R. Galleria Sabauda di Torino," *Le Arti*, I, 393-96.

For ADAM ELSHEIMER see the article by the present writer on Rembrandt, mentioned above, p. 228 (Philemon and Baucis) and by H. Weizsäcker, mentioned above, p. 230. U. Hoff ("Some Aspects of A. Elsheimer's Artistic Development," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXV, 1939, 59-64) makes an interesting attempt to define Elsheimer's art as "an expression of personal conflicts and problems" which makes him "a predecessor of the self-expressive artist," using as examples the series of his *Juno*, *Minerva*, and *Venus* pictures and his *Death of Procris* in comparison with older representations of the same subject. Unfortunately, the article is too short to carry complete conviction and to avoid the impression of one-sidedness in several respects.

A catalogue of the woodcuts by LUDOLPH BÜSINCK was published by the present writer in a continuation of his discussion of Büsinck's life and art (*Print Collector's Quarterly*, XXV, 1938, 393-419, and XXVI, 1939, 349-59).

MATTHÄUS MERIAN as illustrator is discussed by G. F. Hartlaub (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für*

*Kunstwissenschaft*, VI, 1939, 29-49). The suggestion of an influence of Merian's illustrations on Rembrandt is certainly unfounded.

Th. Riewerts has written on "JOHANN WILLINGES in Lübeck," in *Nordelbingen*, 1938, 207-71.

WOLFGANG STECHOW  
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COMTE DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, *Les Peintures de la Synagogue de Doura-Europos, 245-246 après J.-C.*, Rome, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 86, 1939. Pp. 190; 61 pls. \$8.00.

The frescoes of the Synagogue of Dura, now visible to those who may have the fortune to visit Damascus and see them in the excellent reconstruction of the building which has been erected there, have received in this volume the most satisfactory treatment that has yet appeared. Brief but adequate descriptions are supplemented by frequent sketches to clarify the compositions and color-schemes, and the text is freed, for the enjoyment of the reader, of the author's considerable apparatus of inscriptions, textual sources, "classement des éléments constituant les tableaux et les frises," "rapports entre scènes ou tableaux voisins,"—all of which is relegated to a convenient appendix. The book is honored with an Introduction by Gabriel Millet, in which he endeavors to reconstruct *stemmata* for certain of the pictures in the Synagogue, adding a useful bibliographical note which cites other attempts of the sort by Lietzmann, Gerke, and Wodtke.

The book devotes seventeen pages to the remains of the earlier building replaced by the one in question, to the curious circumstance that resulted in so remarkable a preservation of the later edifice and its paintings, and to the disposition of the frescoes on the walls. Most of the rest of the text is taken up by description of the separate panels and explanation of their subjects, helped out with fair half-tone plates, and by drawings where the scenes are obscured by poor preservation. The general conclusions on style and technique are briefly contained in a final chapter, wherein the author comes to a conclusion as to the partition of the work not greatly at variance with that of Aubert's article in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (LXXX, 1938, 1-24): viz. that the head of the atelier, who painted the first or topmost register, was assisted by an aide who worked independently on the third zone, and by still another assistant who was the author of the second zone. A fourth hand seems to be responsible for the paintings in the central niche.

Notable contributions are made to our understanding, not only of this extraordinary cycle of frescoes, but of Hebrew concepts and customs of the time, and the degree to which these were affected by alien surroundings and affected them in turn. The placing of the Torah-shrine in the west wall toward Jerusalem is pointed out as antecedent to later Christian orientation, and the early Mohammedan location of the mihrab in Jerusalem's direction. The costume of Aaron in the twelfth scene (*Aaron and the Tabernacle*), completely at variance with the text of Exodus, especially in its rendering of the ephod, is nevertheless so close to the priestly costume in the



mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore and Parenzo as to suggest that Early Christian iconography drew its notion of the high-priest's dress from contemporary Jewish vestments. The prevailing sequence of scenes and narrative from right to left, though not employed throughout the frescoes of the Synagogue, is nevertheless reflective enough of script-direction to support a thesis of the influence of such direction on artistic composition.

The author makes out a good case for identifying the structure in the scene of the *Ark's Return* as a solar temple instead of the Temple of Solomon, arguing for an interpretation of Beth-shemesh, on the part of the painter, as "temple of the sun." He notes that in drawing oxen, the artist seems to have added the hump distinguishing the local breed to a conventional Hellenistic silhouette. Other indications of Hellenistic and Parthian influence on the visual images of these Jews of Dura are interesting: horsemen are regularly equipped with the Persian quiver, and their horses are drawn as in Persian reliefs; the battle of the Philistines with Israel is depicted, against all historical verity, as a cavalry-fight; royalty and distinction are marked by Parthian costume; the temple of Dagon at Ashdod is conceived, in terms of equipment and cult-image, as a temple of Adonis.

The most important contribution of the author's exegesis is his use of Jewish and Arab commentaries on the Old Testament subjects portrayed on the walls of the Synagogue. From these is gained an explanation of several curiosities: the twelve bands behind Moses in the sequence of the *Departure from Egypt*, representing the twelve paths on which the Tribes passed through the Red Sea; the lions and eagles that identify the Throne of Solomon in picture no. 8; Abraham's white hair and the addition of the sun and moon to the stars that signify his posterity; the curious font and the twelve streams in *Moses' Miracle of Water*; the introduction of Hiel and the serpent that destroyed him in the *Sacrifice of the Priests of Baal*. Attention is also called to the modifications of literal renderings, reflecting contemporary liturgical usage and belief. The costumes of the patriarchs are those of officiants in the synagogue service; the scrinium that contains the writings of Esdras, and the Ark of the Covenant in scenes where it is represented, are assimilated in form to the Torah-shrine. An allusion to the Pharisee teaching of corporeal resurrection is seen in the narrative of the *Vision of Ezekiel*, and actually recorded in a Persian graffito on the fresco of *Elijah's Healing of the Widow's Son*, which shows the episode was regarded as an image of "eternal resurrection."

Such portions of the book as may invite debate seem to be connected with the relation of the Synagogue's frescoes to Early Christian and Byzantine art. Aside from a factual slip or two, such as the location of the book-case of Figure 13 in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore (it is actually a detail in the mosaic of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna), these points of issue have to do with iconography and with the question of prototypes.

A parallel to the "rectangular nimbus" inclosing

the heads of Moses, Esdras, and Abraham, is cited by our author in "une mosaïque du V<sup>e</sup> siècle" at St. Demetrius in Salonika. The date of the mosaic is disputed, some placing it in the seventh century, but aside from this non-pertinent point the "nimbus" in this case is a rectangular pilaster supporting curtains draped along a wall, resembling a nimbus only because it happens to coincide with the head of one of the personages represented in the mosaic. This architectural feature occurs elsewhere in late antiquity: as early as the third century in mosaics of Antioch (e.g. *Antioch on-the-Orontes*, II, pl. 40, no. 53, panel A), and in the sixth-century Codex Rossanensis in a miniature depicting Mark. The reviewer would suggest that the lines of the "nimbus" at Dura are possibly demarcations meant to isolate a portion of the fresco for the special treatment and care required for the making of the head, like the "nimbi" that surround heads in textiles. In any case the figures at St. Demetrius are not "donors" by virtue of a "rectangular nimbus," nor are Abraham, Moses, and Esdras by similar token the "fondateurs . . . du Judaïsme." A comparison with the mosaics of Antioch might have been useful to the author in other instances: the mosaic of Cupid and his team of Psyches at Baltimore provides an excellent parallel of even date for the Psyches of the Ezekiel resurrection, and the bands worn by animals in the frescoed scenes and on the dado are repeated on beasts and birds of the Antiochene pavements. The author mentions, however, the early appearance at Antioch of the motive of twisted ribbon which constitutes the sole ornament of the border of the panels at Dura.

The *Orpheus*, painted above the Torah niche, is a surprising interpolation in the orthodox imagery of the frescoes, but no more so than his occasional appearance in the Christian catacombs of Rome, and on ivories of probable Christian origin. From the author's description, we gather that the vine which was later painted over the *Orpheus* spared the representation below, the *Benedictions of Jacob*; this suggests that the *Orpheus* was by later taste regarded as a heathen intrusion, and eliminated. At any rate, it is not surprising that Hellenistic Judaism, like Hellenistic Christianity, might on occasion borrow this eloquent symbol from pagan mysticism, and the Orphic verses quoted by the author are perhaps a sufficient justification for the inclusion of Orpheus in the frescoes, rather than a desire to use him as an indirect portrayal of David, as the text suggests.

The *Benedictions of Jacob* that occupy the wall below the *Orpheus* fresco were so poorly preserved that a drawing was substituted for a photographic reproduction. In view of this, one wonders if in the original the arms of Jacob were not crossed and his hands thus placed in inverted blessing on the heads of Joseph's sons; this is the case in all of the late antique examples of the scene (a sarcophagus-lid in the museum of St. Callixtus, Rome; fol. 50<sup>r</sup> of the Ashburnham Pentateuch; fol. 23<sup>r</sup> of the Genesis of Vienna).

A pair of boots stands beside the bare-footed Moses in the fresco of *Moses on Mt. Sinai*. Our author cites as parallels the sandals behind Moses as he ascends Sinai, in a miniature of the Paris Psalter

(Bibl. nat. gr. 139), and Moses removing his sandals before receiving the Law in a following scene, in the Vatican Bible (Regin. gr. 1). Here he has inadvertently entered an area of conflict in Early Christian archaeology, where views on the iconographic ancestry of these representations in the manuscripts are widely divergent. In the reviewer's opinion, the sandals of the Psalter are relics of a scene of *Moses Before the Burning Bush* in the rotulus sequence of the illustrated model which was syncopated by the artist of the Psalter; and the *Moses Removing his Sandals* in the Bible, being a repetition of the same figure in a previous picture of that manuscript, was inserted into the Sinai episode by the Bible's miniaturist because he was copying and adapting the Psalter's illustration, in which the unattached sandals suggested to him the scene of the *Burning Bush*. The instances of the Psalter and the Bible are at any rate frail evidence for a common "archetype aujourd'hui disparu" behind the miniatures and the Dura fresco, which gives Moses not sandals but a pair of boots and is different from the book-pictures in every other respect.

Such archetypes are an evident preoccupation both of our author and of M. Millet in his Introduction. Of *Jacob's Dream* we read, "Les modifications apportées au prototype commun ont été faibles." The comparison here is with a miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris, Bibl. nat. gr. 510), but the only feature in common is that Jacob in both pictures reclines as one might expect; at Dura there is no angel standing beside him, the angels are wingless and wear Persian dress, the ladder is at the left instead of the right. In the *Anointing of David*, "il est difficile de douter que le peintre de Doura du III<sup>e</sup> siècle se soit inspiré aussi du prototype disparu." The parallels cited belong to a well-known traditional type of Septuagint illustration, which has in common with the fresco only two features, both indispensable—seven figures of Samuel, Jesse, David, and four sons of Jesse, and a horn of unction. The horn, however, is held by Samuel in a quite unusual way, David is differently placed and dressed, Jesse is beardless, and Samuel is at the other end of the group. The similarity between the Dura fresco of the *Sweetening of the Waters of Mara* and the mosaic of the same subject in S. Maria Maggiore reduces to the common elements of a pool and Moses' rod, which however at Dura he casts into the water in stricter accord with the text.

A comparison of the *Crossing of the Red Sea* as represented in mosaic at S. Maria Maggiore, in fresco at Dura, in a miniature of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, and another of the Chludov Psalter, suggests to both our author and M. Millet a "parenté . . . certaine," though the essentials of iconographic community are difficult to find. Equally forced is the argument for an "archetype" of the scene of *Moses Saved from the River*. This archetype is supposed to have included the execution of Pharaoh's order to drown the Hebrew male children, since this appears in a miniature of a Haggadâh, of the sixteenth century (!). The Synagogue painter has "preserved of this motive" only Moses' mother putting the child in the water. Part of the tale, the incident of Moses'

sister giving the infant to its mother, is depicted in a miniature of the Ashburnham Pentateuch; if this be turned around, and we discount the inconvenient presence in the Dura picture of the nude princess finding the child in the middle of the stream, this and other comparisons are supposed to indicate a "modèle plus développé que le peintre a resserré en quelque sorte pour le faire entrer dans le panneau dont il disposait." A Persian miniature (of the fourteenth century) "shows that there once existed an intermediary scene, with the same elements of composition." Truly, to quote the words of M. Millet (employed in a quite different context in his Introduction), "L'esprit doit suppléer ce que l'œil ne voit pas."

With the best will in the world, an eye unspectacled with *parti pris* will find no valid evidence in these frescoes, or in such comparisons, of a previously existing cycle of Old Testament illustration from which the painters drew. Nor is the unprejudiced reader likely to agree with the rather high estimate our author puts upon their artistic capacity. Such phrases as "une technique infiniment plus complexe" and "style continu analytique" imply a creative subtlety and a technical ability not borne out by the frescoes themselves, so far as they are revealed in the illustrations of this book. A more accurate description of them is given in a final verdict: "Les modifications de détail, apportées aux prototypes, nous paraissent toujours conçues dans ce même esprit: rendre l'œuvre claire." If we discount the "prototypes," this quotation fairly sums up the primitive art of the Dura painters. Their works are an extreme example of the return to descriptive style which is visible throughout the frontier backwaters of the art of the later Empire, relapsing into frontality, isolation of objects, and lack of articulation both of figures and composition. The *Capture of the Ark* reproduced in Plate xxxiii is an excellent example of this procedure, wherewith each detail is rendered as separately, for clear distinction, as is possible, and with little or no differentiation of the figures save in the obvious details of costume or attributes requisite to the story. Yet we are told that in this fresco the bodies of the captive Levite porters of the Ark are "légèrement penché en arrière, comme s'ils s'avançaient à regret." Their attitude is however identical with that of their Philistine captors. Any conscious expressionism attributed to such painting is belied by the repetition of formula.

If our author may have overpraised his frescoes, it is an understandable failing, due to enthusiastic absorption in a subject so well and clearly handled as to make this book one of the most informative and interesting treatments of archaeological data that this reviewer has ever read.

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K. A. C. CRESWELL, *Early Muslim Architecture, Part Two: Early Abbasids, Umayyads of Cordova, Aghlabids, Tulunids, and Samanids*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. xxvi + 415; 123 plates + 261 figs. £10.10s.

It is ten years since Professor Creswell's first

volume established his unrivaled mastery of the field now laid open. The second, completing his survey of Muslim architecture up to the end of the ninth century, can only increase the respect in which he is held. He has no peers; and all who enjoy his acquaintance know that his supremacy is the fruit of an entire devotion, notable energy, and a generous passion for truth and justice which ranges his subject as a Forest Perilous, smiting down Rivoira, Strzygowski, and all other strong monomaniacs who cross his path, and chastising the mean in the ignominy of footnotes.

His readers, like Doctor Watson, "know his methods." Wherever it has been possible he has made a minute examination of the structures he describes, with the result that he has been able to correct even observation so competent as that of Reuther, and amend interpretation so intelligent as that of Herzfeld (p. 285). Historical authorities are carefully classified according to date, source, and authenticity. His bibliographies are enormous, and seem complete. As a result, his conclusions are in almost every case acceptable, and a great body of what will serve as truth for many years is established. This is the more important for the extreme obscurity and complexity of the historical development treated. Before that development, architecture was Christian or Sasanian; after it, architecture was coherently Muslim. From the period comparatively few monuments survive; from the succeeding periods we have a rich series. The momentous centuries in which Islamic culture became great, the whole duration of its unity, and the first stages of its dismemberment constitute the period of which practically all the surviving monuments have been now for the first time carefully described (with a few exceptions such as Khazara, Sedrata, the still-unpublished excavations at Rayy, Istakhr, and Nishapur, and the Russian excavations in Central Asia). The tremendous task is nobly done.

If it is a reviewer's duty (or his nature) to deviate from praise, it must be understood that any particular objection in such a case as this is substantially trivial, and that any general criticism is only an expression of the way in which this reviewer's interests differ from those of a resolute and admirable scholar. But before assuming the uncomfortable posture of a critic I must mention those particular parts of the work which have seemed most welcome.

Among these fall the corrections to Herzfeld's reconstruction of the great Mosque of al-Mansur at Baghdad, the investigations at Raqqa, the definitive description and plausible attribution of the palace of Ukhaidir, the assemblage and discussion of all known early examples of the squinch, the publication of Herzfeld's plan of the Jawsaq al-Khaqani, the reconstruction of the Aqsa Mosque at Jerusalem, the analyses of the Great Mosques of Cordova and Qayrawan, and the masterly historical discussions of the Mosque of 'Amr, the Nilometer on Roda Island, and the Mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun at Cairo. Other descriptions seem less valuable only because of the less interesting character of the monuments described, or because (as in the case of the mausoleum of Isma'il the Samanid at Bukhara) Creswell has had

no opportunity of supplementing the good descriptions we already have. There is incidental matter of the greatest interest; for example, on page 43 the early history of the pointed arch is disencumbered of accumulated errors and set square again. It is moving evidence of Creswell's lack of malice that the ridiculously loose statements of Pope and Talbot Rice on this subject draw only an impatient correction, as Rivoira in another place draws only three exclamation marks. Creswell is attractively incapable of sarcasm.

Here and there additions to his material suggest themselves. The curious window-head at Ukhaidir (p. 55) is related by him to certain others: to these, that in the minaret of Sangbast in Khurasan should be added. The semi-domed hood on the interior resembles ancient work of uncertain date in the fortifications of the castle at Kirman, which I am inclined to attribute to the time of Ibn Ilyas in the early tenth century. To the list of early squinches, which includes certain "decorative" squinches in solid rock, should be added the rock-cut dome at Haibak in north Afghanistan. Carved capitals taken by De Lorey from excavations in Syria, now in Paris and at The Metropolitan Museum in New York, are important material for comparison with the Samarra marble discussed on page 242. And the most important parallel of all for the understanding of the stucco in Style C at Samarra is the group of mosque wood-carvings in remote Turkestan published some years ago by Denike, even though these are of later date. It may be that the second volume of *Early Muslim Architecture* was already too far advanced in printing at the time of Denike's publication for such an inclusion. The more recently published *Survey of Persian Art*, references to which were inserted in a few footnotes, also contains a certain amount of material supplementary to *Early Muslim Architecture*, such as the curious vault structure of the Mosque at Shiraz, which might be added to the discussion of vault construction on page 82. The *Survey* also contains historical references to now-vanished buildings which occasionally, as in the instance of monumental wooden domes, illuminate the subject. But the inevitable omissions, in no sense faults, are of slight importance.

The factual texture of the volume is so close that it makes somewhat difficult reading. Indeed it is probable that no one who has not already a mature appetite for these very facts will ever read it right through (it weighs twenty pounds). The defect does not lie in its style, which is plain lively English without any taint of the offensive academic mannerisms of much modern learned writing. It lies rather in the severity with which our noses are held down on brick and stone. Even if Professor Creswell's restriction of view is the product of discipline, or self-denial, its effect even upon so great an achievement is unmistakable. To put it harshly, one can read this book without gaining an informed conception of the development of early Muslim architecture. The lack of picturesque detail is felt, and in some cases this amounts to a deficiency in description. As an example, it is well known how great a part in the architectural ensemble of early Abbasid palaces was



played by curtains. Those of the audience chamber of Harun al-Rashid already were famous, and an early tenth-century caliphal palace had thirty-eight thousand of them. There can be no doubt that many state apartments must have been designed for the display of curtains as deliberately as some western structures have been designed for the exhibition of statuary. Curtains were of the essence of the whole Abbasid style; and in the architecture of the period perhaps no other element can be singled out which so significantly reveals the condition and destiny of Muslim art. The fabrics themselves have perished, and it is possible that they were mostly woven in Byzantine or Chinese territory; but their architectural use is abundantly recorded. It is unfortunate that so full a book should not emphasize it.

There is moreover an apparent lack of curiosity, amounting almost to indifference, in Creswell's determination of the uses of the parts of buildings. It is apparent rather than real and is the result of his contempt for speculation. He detects a kitchen or a stable, and has a fine nose for a latrine, but even in such extraordinary cases as those of the Balkuwara and Jawsaq al-Khaqani palaces, he fails to call attention to the enormous number of subsidiary state-chambers. Enough material survives in such accounts as those of the envoys of Constantine Porphyrogenitus to give a vivid idea of the uses of palaces, the size and splendor of the waziral offices, and the number of structures of which the purpose seems to have been pure ostentation. Such motives appear in the exclamation of Mutawakkil after the building of Ja'fariya: "Now I know that I am indeed a King, for I have built myself a town and live in it" (p. 276). But the architectural consequences of these impulses might have been explicitly mentioned. To assign particular rooms to particular purposes may often be impossible; but the palaces as a whole would be more intelligible than they are if a judicious selection had been made of the more pictorial descriptions of them and of comparable buildings.

And often there can be little doubt that an architectural form has a kind of parallel dependence on an idea. An excellent example is the triple state-chamber. Although the triple *ivan* and the throne-room with flanking chambers are certainly pre-Islamic forms, they seem to have had a very definite use in the Islamic monarchies: the *bahwu*. Such terms as "Right hand of the Caliphate," "Wazirs of the Right and of the Left" indicate a connection between the *bahwu* and caliphal ceremony which might have been explored in discussing the Abbasid palaces.

Evidently this kind of elucidation was not the aim of the author. It is perhaps in such an aside as his castigation of Caudel's arrogant criticism of Fournel that he reveals his own purposes: "Caudel is sneering at a much greater man than himself, for Fournel's thorough scholarship and tireless striving after accuracy are evident in every page of his work" (p. 211, n. 3). Greatness of this order Creswell has himself triumphantly achieved.

As if he felt that the emotive qualities of the buildings demanded some tribute, he sometimes inserts short descriptive passages, expressing part of the deep affection for Muslim architecture which must

underlie his lifelong devotion. The most eloquent passage in this volume is naturally that consecrated to the Mosque of Ibn Tulun: "On entering, one is struck by its air of peace and serenity, completely cut off as it is from the noise of the street, by its chaste ornament and devotional atmosphere. And the window-grills which, in the shadow of the porticoes, stand out against the sky like delicate lace-work, add greatly to the charm. If those which have perished resembled the three original ones which have survived, the charm must once have been greater still.

"But it cannot have been a good mosque to preach in, for a speaker in the pulpit would only command a relatively small number of people on account of the width of the piers, one of which comes almost directly in front of the pulpit. In a mosque on columns the preacher's voice would be far less obstructed" (p. 355).

This is inadequate to the subject, as are the other similar descriptive passages. Now and again a factual observation expresses more of the stylistic character of a building than any of them: for example, the "flavor" of the architecture at Ukhaider seems distilled into such a phrase as "small arched niches on stumpy half-columns without bases" (p. 81).

"Artistic" as distinguished from architectural questions have been segregated, and the author with characteristic modesty has either quoted Herzfeld or entrusted discussion to Georges Marçais. Herzfeld's characterization of the wall-paintings of Samarra is given at length, in spite of Creswell's reserve, diffidently expressed in a footnote quoting (!) De Lorey (p. 243). The passage is of special importance since it is the only one in the book expressing general ideas upon the place of early Muslim art in the stream of human history. Herzfeld writes: "The reaction of the ancient Eastern spirit against Hellenization sets in immediately after the Seleucid period, and is consummated in the field of Persian painting in three stages: Arsacid period—beginning; Sasanian period—completion; early Muslim period—last gasp. For there is no doubt, as every single piece shows, that the painting of Samarra is the final end. The hostility, typically Semitic, to representational art, is the reason why this art had no descendants." It may be that the writer was goaded into the generalization implicit in the last sentence quoted by a justifiable irritation with Strzygowski. But it is the fact affirmed that must be questioned. This art had descendants; it was merely a tawdry link in a chain which was partly gold. Not only the historical evidence amassed by Arnold in *Painting in Islam*, but the preservation of so many of its elements, stylized and refined, in post-Saljuq painting, dispose of Herzfeld's statement. The continuous animal border of the frontispiece to the Schefer *Hariri* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the figures on an arabesque ground in numerous Saljuq ceramics, and even in fragmentary murals, preserve the elements of the very painting reproduced near the quoted statement (fig. 192). A comparison of the Taq-i-Bustan hunts with those of the archaic Leningrad *Shahnama*, and even the frontispiece of Baisunghur's *Shahnama*, can only show the continuity of Sasanian and even late Muslim painting.

The quotation is to be regretted, and the more because of the profound generalization which precedes the passage I have attacked. But if it was a mistake for Creswell to vacate the pulpit in favor of an erroneous statement so exciting in the range of its ideas, it was no less a mistake to give place to the analyses of Marçais. These stand in glaring contrast with Creswell's own thorough and conscientious work. In Marçais' discussion of the ceiling paintings at Qairawan (pp. 223-24), citing ancient Mesopotamian examples of certain decorative elements, he admits their presence at the Dome of the Rock, and proceeds to suggest influence, or "intrusion," from Abbasid Baghdad, and to say that Christian and Mesopotamian elements seem more distinct now than in the seventh century. All this is introduced by the supposition that after the settling of the Aghlabids at Qairawan "the sumptuary needs of the new masters made the local workshops revive." There is a lack of coherence in these ideas entirely at variance with the spirit of collation and caution on which Creswell's own conclusions are based. Similarly Marçais takes the diagonal arrangement of checkers at Sus as evidence of importation from Iraq, in the ninth century, when we have already seen it at Qasr al-Hair, and a diagonal trellis by an unmistakably Hellenistic hand at Qusair 'Amra. Even his more direct observation seems sometimes questionable: the Aqsa panels West 6 and East 5 appear so strikingly like certain arabesques on the capitals of the older parts of the mosque of 'Amr that those panels should perhaps be attributed to the early ninth-century reconstruction of al-Mahdi. (I have never studied the originals and am judging only from Creswell's plates.) In this case Marçais' estimate that all the panels date from the same period is weakened, since his attribution to the Umayyad age of the whole group seems correct in the case of most of its members.

No one, however, will question Creswell's own conclusions and suggestions without either unmistakable evidence or unmistakable nervousness. It is with the latter advantage that I propose certain minor alternatives. In deference to Reuther he reproduces (fig. 44) a drawing of the Ukhaidir Court of Honor with an erroneous representation of the niche system there employed. Surely it would have been advisable to redraw that part of Reuther's figure, since the three-above-two system used in the court façade is one of the actual paneling-systems of Ctesiphon, the relation between which and Ukhaidir is of considerable importance.

The photographs of the little-visited palace at Firuzabad, though not perfectly clear, seem to indicate that the squinches are built of slightly inclined courses. If so, Rosintal's diagram is less accurate than the description by Spiers which Creswell attacks (p. 106).

A more important suggestion relates to the fortifications of Mansur's Round City of Baghdad. Creswell, very judiciously, accepts the brilliant reconstruction made by Herzfeld in almost every respect. This reconstruction was derived from the collation and analysis of various accounts by Muslim authors. In one most interesting particular, however,

both Herzfeld and Creswell find themselves obliged to reject the statements of all these writers and substitute a very different dimension of their own invention. The question is that of the thickness of the main wall at its base, given by al-Khatib as twenty, by Ya'qubi as ninety, by Tabari as fifty, and by Muqaddasi as fifty cubits respectively. Ya'qubi gives the thickness of the top as twenty-five cubits, and Tabari as twenty. All these figures are rejected, and the very different figure of ten cubits as base-thickness, derived from a calculation of the recorded number of bricks used, is assumed. Both Creswell and Herzfeld suppose that the inner *fasil* (which is translated *intervallum*) was unroofed. But let us suppose that it was roofed with a normal Mesopotamian tunnel-vault. The fortification would then consist not only of that wall which faced the outer *fasil* but of the other support to the vault, which bounded the residential area within. Accepting the data of the architect Rabah, on which Herzfeld based his calculations, as referring to the outer support, the total width of this corridor-fortification would be forty cubits or more, which is strikingly close to the figures given by Tabari and Muqaddasi. If we were to question the figures of Rabah and accept al-Khatib's dimensions as authentic but referring only to the stronger outer support, we should have a thickness of the outer wall of twenty cubits continued above the vaulted corridor and corresponding exactly to the upper thickness given by Tabari and almost exactly to that given by Ya'qubi. The thickness of the base including the corridor would then be the fifty cubits of Tabari and Muqaddasi. Ya'qubi's ninety cubits must refer to the whole inner and outer wall system. It is so desirable to harmonize the accounts from which our whole conception of these remarkable walls is derived, that it seems almost imperative to assume a tunnel-vault over the inner *fasil* running all round the city between gate and gate. If this was so, the fortifications were more original, and considerably more effective. A greater space for the piling of *matériel* close to the ramparts, and a communication line sheltered from dropping fire, were both provided.

In connection with the origin of the curious pied (*ablaq*) masonry already found at Cordova, and destined to such wide use in Mamluk and Ottoman architecture, two early precedents suggest themselves. Was it a decorative adaptation of Byzantine brick-and-stone masonry? Or was it an idea derived from Christian manuscript illumination? A checkered archivolt occurs in the sixth-century Mesopotamian Gospel of Rabula (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>).

All these suggestions leave the substance of the book unassailed. Its limitations in general treatment are definite. Professor Schapiro's review of the first volume, published in this periodical in 1935, expressed with perfect eloquence the impossibility of regarding architecture as merely the combination of setting out and construction, and there is no need to repeat it. But even from a compilation so sternly devoted to truth and fact some general ideas arise. One cannot read so rich a book without modifying the unorganized corpus of impressions which constitute one's conception of a period. Perhaps the most distinct general alteration in this reviewer's picture

of early Muslim architecture which can be attributed to Creswell's work is a sense of the continued importance of Syria even after the fall of the Umayyads. A vaguer and less easily justified feeling is the suspicion that even before that date, a fairly consistent Islamic decorative style was already widely distributed among the Mohammedan communities living near the shores of the Mediterranean. However, such slightly-founded inductions are unbecoming in the presence of a disciplined achievement like *Early Muslim Architecture*. A book can only be a classic if it possesses, among other qualities, great human interest. *Early Muslim Architecture* is not a classic in that sense; but there is no doubt that it will, with its excellent plates and figures, its exhaustive bibliographies, and its immense bulk of scholarship and honest thought, remain indispensable to all whom it may concern for more than one generation.

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EMERSON HOWLAND SWIFT, *Hagia Sophia*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xvii + 265; 34 linecuts; 46 collotype plates. \$10.00.

Not since the year 1894, when Lethaby and Swainson published *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, has a book appeared in English on Justinian's great domed edifice in Constantinople. This serious gap in English literature on Byzantine architecture is now filled by Emerson Howland Swift's *Hagia Sophia*, a publication made possible by a substantial grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, and by funds from the Council on Research in the Humanities at Columbia University where the author is an Associate Professor. The monograph, dedicated to Howard Crosby Butler, founder of the School of Architecture in Princeton University, is the direct outcome of an investigation of the structure conducted when the building was still a house of worship. The data then gathered has been correlated with material from ancient sources and from modern studies of the "Great Mosque of Hagia Sophia" as Mohammed the Conqueror called it. As a result, the book is a well-ordered statement of the building as it was known before it was secularized in the year 1934. Mustapha Kemal's iconoclastic decision to convert the building into a monument and museum of Byzantine art has opened it generously to scientific investigators. Mr. Swift, by adding excerpts from the more significant findings of A. M. Schneider and of Professor Kenneth J. Conant of Harvard University, has brought the account down to the present. One could wish, however, that Schneider's reports had been more fully scientific, and that Mr. Conant's still unpublished article had appeared in print, so that their recent discoveries might have been better incorporated in the new book.

Early in 1935 Schneider, excavating in the atrium directly in front of a major portion of the north half of the exonarthex, uncovered architectural fragments of a colonnade whose more lofty middle section of four columns supported an arched entablature. A wall behind the colonnade, and like it running parallel to the exonarthex, contained two openings:

the broader of these was beneath the arch on axis with the center of Justinian's church, the smaller was considerably removed to the north. Schneider claims to have found the entrance into the narthex of Theodosius' basilica dedicated in 415, and judges it—by reason of the extent of wall found—to have been five-aisled. Furthermore, he is of the opinion that the same colonnade—then lacking the elevated central part—once enhanced the front wall of Constantius' church begun in 360 on the same site. Although we know nothing through other excavations of the imperial basilicas of Constantinople, and although Schneider's reports are sketchy, Mr. Swift is ready to accept the conclusions drawn. Only one exception is taken: he states (p. 8) that the narthex of the fourth-century basilica was preceded by a colonnaded court. Had the entrance wall of the two churches been placed behind the colonnade at the place excavated, it would have been quite impossible for either to have had an atrium to the west, since the colonnade, according to Schneider, was raised above a broad flight of steps over a paved street on whose far side the ground fell off sharply. A clue to the proper relationship of colonnade to churches comes, it seems to the reviewer, from J. W. Crowfoot's reading of Eusebius' descriptions of the ecclesiastical buildings sanctioned by Constantine the Great at Tyre and at Jerusalem. Each complex is said to have included within a walled precinct—entered off a street through a porch and three doorways—a forecourt surrounded by porticoes, and a main church building on the east side. The work of Vincent and Abel around the Holy Sepulchre confirms Eusebius' description of Jerusalem. Traces remain there of a propylaeum raised above a street which had a colonnade on either side. Behind this propylaeum, remnants of the west wall of the precinct are still to be seen, with holes for fixing marble plaques to its surface, and with a broader middle door pointing the parallel to the wall at Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> It would seem that what Schneider has found is the place of the porch of Constantius' church mentioned by Palladius, an eye-witness of the destruction by fire of the basilica proper within the precinct.<sup>2</sup> When one regards the portico with an arched entablature not as the façade of Theodosius' basilica, but as the propylaeum to its walled precinct, an explanation presents itself for the presence in the 2.3 meter fill of other architectural fragments of various dates, which Schneider omits from his recent reconstruction of the basilica façade.<sup>3</sup> These may be thought to have been removed from the atrium in 532, when that feature with a cistern beneath it (Swift, p. 88) became the western part of the pavement of Justinian's edifice of greatly increased floor

1. J. W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine* (*The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy*, 1937), London, 1941, pp. 6-7, 9-21.

2. Herbert Moore, *Translations of Christian Literature* (*The Dialogue of Palladius Concerning the Life of Chrysostom*), London, 1921, p. 87; Greek text in Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus series graeca*, xlvii, Paris, 1858, 36.

3. A. M. Schneider, *Die Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel*, Berlin, 1939, Abb. 3. A set of photographs, more complete than any issued by Schneider of the pieces found, is given by S. Larsen in *Atlantis* (*Länder, Völker, Reisen*), ix, 1937, 187-92.



area. When this took place, the colonnade was razed to the ground and covered over by a new atrium laid out farther to the west. At the same time, the street which had led—with a colonnade on one of its sides—from the Mese and the Augusteum to the old Acropolis on its elevation to the north was sacrificed.

In contrast to the brief notices accorded to its predecessors on the site, there is a wealth of information about the "Great Church" as Procopius called it. Mr. Swift presents this in an easy and interesting style. The book will have a special value as an excellent text for reference in college courses on the history of architecture. Students, no doubt, would find a perspective diagram of the superstructure useful in visualizing the vertical disposition of parts in the complicated structure. Into the description of the latter has gone the mass of material in Antoniadēs' three-volume work in Greek, which is drawn upon heavily in the chapters on "The Church in Detail" from pavement to dome.

Scholars will be intensely interested in the ideas and data borrowed from an article by Professor Conant which will appear in the first issue of the *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Conant's new thesis, as advanced by Mr. Swift (pp. 13-14), that "the tower-buttresses were built—as a prudent afterthought—before the church was completed in 537, in order to check structural distortions even then in progress," introduces the major archaeological problem of Hagia Sophia. Mr. Swift elects to hold the view that the tower-buttresses, built above triforium roof-level over the pier-responds of the nave piers, were the product of the second building period under Isidorus the Younger, between the years 558 and 563. The testimonies of Cedrenus and Theophanes—in that order—and the report of Antoniadēs to the effect that the tower-buttresses "show no bonding or organic connection with the walls of the church" are cited by Mr. Swift (p. 141) as proof that the roof of the triforium lacked any tower-buttresses until the second dome was erected after 558. But the medieval testimonies actually supply the literary basis for a belief that the towers, the inner sections (about 10 m. wide) of the tower-buttresses, were erected to their full height before 537. They testify also that only the stair-blocks, the outer sections (about 4.75 m.) of the tower-buttresses, were added after 558. For Theophanes wrote (ca. 810-15) that the first builders had pierced the piers supporting the dome, and for this reason they did not hold; Justinian therefore constructed other piers. In a Latin version based in part on Theophanes' text, and written ca. 873-75,<sup>5</sup> it is specified that the architects "had put together the heads of the piers to the foundations of the dome not solidly in all parts, but had left open with windows and openings those piers which prop up the dome; for this reason, the piers were not sufficient to sustain

the dome. Seeing this, the Emperor constructed other piers which in turn supported the dome." This makes it almost certain that the "piers" in question were the towers above triforium level, and that the "other piers" were the stair-blocks. The interpretation fits perfectly the testimony of Cedrenus (ca. 1100) that Justinian in rebuilding the fallen dome "erected four winding stairways on the outside of the church, opposite to the great piers within, and these he built from ground level, raising them unto the dome, that they might take the thrust of the great arches" (Swift translation, p. 141).

There are items of a concrete nature to support this declared relationship in time and in use of the towers and stair-blocks. The need for strong abutment to the outward thrust at spring and haunch of the lofty and wide transverse arches under the dome is manifest. Anthemius from the first may well have counted on the vaults and arches within the superposed chambers of his four towers to meet these thrusts. Calculating that the tunnel-vaults running north and south over the chambers, and the broad arches within the side-walls, would be sufficient as buttressing agents, he felt free to "pierce the piers." This was done not to save expense, as Theophanes wrote. The "openings" in the side-walls were there to permit ascent to the four corners of the dome without puncturing the functional ceilings of the chambers.<sup>6</sup> The "windows" in the end-walls were there

6. See the perspective diagram by Prost reproduced in J. Ebersolt, *Monuments d'architecture byzantine*, Paris, 1934, pl. xxviii; from H. Prost, *Monuments antiques relevés et restaurés par les architectes pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome*, Supplément, Paris, 1924, pls. 1-10. I have been unable to locate a copy of this publication of the Institut de France. It might prove of considerable value judging by the author's advance statement in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1909, pp. 252-54.

The existence of "openings" in the side-walls of the upper chambers of the towers, corresponding to those in the lower chambers, is supposition on the reviewer's part, there being no indication of them in Prost's perspective diagram, nor in Conant's sketches in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLIII, 1939, 589, figs. 4, 5. The supposition is admittedly prompted by a desire to discover the means of access to the aediculae at the four corners of the first dome, if the stair-blocks were added between the years 558 and 563. The existence of entrances to the stairways leading directly to the aediculae seems assured by the aperture shown in the southwest tower in Prost's perspective. This aperture, referred to by Swift (p. 140) as a "round-headed window located off center and now blocked by masonry" is high up in the wall which backs against the dome's pendentive. Rather than being a window, it is obviously an entrance to the stairway which was cut out of the masonry behind and above the pendentive. Swift's careful study of the stairways which rose to the base of the dome proved to him (p. 142) that "they belong to the original building of Anthemius, at least in their lower portions"—the portions with which we are here concerned. Being assured of the first and last stages of the ascent to the uppermost part of the superstructure, it is possible to restore by conjecture the intermediate stages. The way—beginning from within the lower chamber of each tower—led out of the chamber through an "opening" in its side-wall onto the triforium roof. It next continued up a set of outside steps built over the triforium roof, and ran to an "opening" in the side-wall of the upper chamber. The outside flights of steps may have been placed on either or both sides of the tower, but—if a decision has to be attempted—it may be surmised that they were erected in front of the inner face of each tower—that is, over the middle bays of the triforium. Having passed through the "opening" into the upper tower-chamber, the way may be thought to have continued up steps within the chamber to the raised entrance of the stairway which is known to have ended in the aedicula at the base of the dome.

4. A review of Swift's *Hagia Sophia* by Conant, who has made a penetrating study of the first "saucer-like" dome, has been written for *Speculum*.

5. The dates of composition are taken from K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 527-1453, Munich, 1891, pp. 120, 122. The same authority (p. 140) is used in this review for the date of Cedrenus. The Greek text of Theophanes Confessor, and the Latin text by the church librarian Anastasius, are printed together in the *Bonn Corpus*, xli-xlii, 1839-41, I, 360.

not primarily for a practical purpose, but to carry out the aesthetic scheme of disposing round-headed apertures in vertical series on the exterior.<sup>7</sup> The succession of severe earthquakes which finally occasioned the disaster of 558 made clear the need for additional abutment above triforium roof level. It was then, as Cedrenus states, that Justinian ordered the winding stairways to be built. In the process, the once decorative windows, hidden by the stair-blocks, lost their aesthetic function, and the "openings" in the upper chambers were walled up, access to the dome now being through the stairs within the blocks. It is instructive to read in T. G. Jackson's report to the Turkish authorities on the condition of the mosque in 1909 (*Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*, 1913, I, Appendix, p. 104) that "in one case, the stair-turret was not bonded to the rest, but was separated by a clear joint." Only one tower-buttress was examined and that at triforium level where a fall of plaster had revealed the joint. However, there may be in this another item of concrete evidence that the blocks were added at a later date outside the towers.

The above substantiation of the reviewer's thesis of the relationship in time and use of the two sections of the tower-buttresses is further strengthened by the fact that Anthemius and Isidorus the Younger could have found in Rome architectural precedent for their separate buttressing devices. For the architects of Diocletian's Baths, completed in the early fourth century, had used towers raised over the roofs of the side-aisles to meet the concentrated lateral thrusts of the cross-vaults of the lofty main hall. Some of these towers had lateral extensions in the form of blocks containing winding stairs capped by aediculae.<sup>8</sup> Several of the latter, it is interesting

The existence of arches in the side-walls of the upper chambers, corresponding to those enclosing the "openings" in the lower chambers, is more problematical. If an investigation on the spot should reveal their presence beneath the stucco covering the brick walls, their lateral extent would throw much light on the relationship in time and in use of the towers and stair-blocks. Should they prove to have extended beyond the outer limits of the towers to spring from within the adjoining stair-blocks, it would be manifest that both upper sections of the tower-buttresses were built at one and the same time, a circumstance which would fit the theses of both Conant and Swift. Furthermore, should the arches now known to exist—thanks to Prost and to Conant—in the side-walls of the lower tower-chambers be found to have extended into the stair-blocks on the same level, the reviewer's thesis that towers and stair-blocks were the products of two separate building periods would immediately become untenable. However, until the lateral extent of the arches is scientifically determined, it is legitimate for the book-archaeologist to presume that each tower-chamber originally had side arches contained within the width of the tower itself, and also that each originally had a side "opening" making possible an ascent through it to the exterior of the first dome. A scientific corroboration of these suppositions would substantiate as true the declarations of Theophanes and of Cedrenus.

7. See the sectional drawing in Swift, pl. v, A and B. The aediculae designed by Anthemius for the four corners of the base of his dome (Swift, p. 142), like those later placed over the winding stairways by Isidorus the Younger, were probably given curved roofs. These would have fitted into the silhouette scheme determined by the roof lines of the larger arches and vaults, as would not have been the case had they had "double-pitched" terminations, as Swift proposes (pl. v A; p. 140).

8. See the sectional drawing by the "Anonymous Destailleur" reproduced by D. M. Krencker, *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen*, Augsburg, 1929, fig. 414. Krencker asserts (p. 281) that the drawing was made before Michelangelo's day.

to note, had raking retaining walls pierced by round-headed communication arches playing directly against the cross vaults. The question arises whether Hagia Sophia did not also have similar, or rather corresponding, buttressing agents playing against its dome in the sixth century. Mr. Swift is convinced (p. 164, n. 222) that "the flying buttress form was quite unknown before the rise of the Gothic style," and that the flying buttresses of Hagia Sophia—upon the flanks of the church and around the base of the dome—could have been first erected only in the thirteenth century by Latins, that is, by Crusaders from the Ile-de-France. It is true that the dome buttresses as drawn by Fossati (Swift, pl. xix A) are analogous to those of Gothic France. But they may not have been so always. Originally they may have been open with arched quadrants, as are those still *in situ* around the dome base of Hagia Sophia, Salonika. Charles Diehl, who is especially well informed about the Christian monuments of Salonika, goes so far as to link the flying buttresses in the Hagia Sophia of that city with those he must assume to have been at Constantinople as representing the "pratique ancienne du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle" (*Manuel d'art byzantin*, I, p. 448). In the face of the formative examples in Rome and of the probable parallels in Salonika, it is best to keep open the possibility that Hagia Sophia in Constantinople may have had flying buttresses in the sixth century. Mr. Conant suggests (Swift, p. 141, n. 59) that the squinches spanning the angles between the towers of Hagia Sophia and the lateral arches of the dome were originally simple niche-heads, dating either about 537, or between 558 and 563. Walls built over these squinches set the line of the flying buttresses removed by Fossati in 1849 when the dome was secured by a double band of iron chains. It is conceivable that walls built over the simple niche-heads may have set the line for the first flying buttresses at Hagia Sophia.

The dating of the tower-buttresses constitutes the major archaeological problem of Justinian's Hagia Sophia. The issue will be decided only after a close and thorough examination of the structure such as is now being undertaken for the Byzantine Institute by Messrs. William Emerson and Robert Van Nice. On a solution of the problem must wait the final analysis of the compositional principles governing the aesthetic effects of the exterior, and also, in some small part, of the interior as well. Within the past decade, three separate attempts—all written in German—have been made to arrive at an estimate of the greatness of Anthemius as an artist. Mr. Swift presents the most significant observations of all three, stating his preference for those of Zaluski. It is wisely pointed out, however (p. 40, n. 55), that the relationship of the dome to its vertical supports was not intentionally dissimulated on the interior, as Zaluski asserts; for the upper sections of the "optical screens"—the now almost solid tympana under the lateral bearing arches—were at first open as windows<sup>9</sup> exposing the intrados of the bearing

9. Swift (p. 144, n. 80) restores a three-part window under each bearing arch of 22.60 m. span on the analogy of the west window of 14.84 m. span, now the largest window in the edifice. But the two columns at present in the latter have plain and uncarved capitals (p. 71), and a drawing of the interior from Du Cange

arches. If it be accepted that the towers were in place to their full height before 537, then these too might have been visible from the interior, at least from triforium level.

Unfortunately for those who would hope to find in the new monograph a recapitulation of the best that has been written about Hagia Sophia, Mr. Swift has overlooked an article by Professor C. R. Morey of Princeton University.<sup>10</sup> The simplified and clear exposition of this author seems to the reviewer to eclipse all other treatments of the place held by the church in the history of architecture, and to be uncomplicated in its aesthetic analysis. As Mr. Morey writes: "Hagia Sophia is half Byzantine, half classic; in it a Hellenistic interior is veneered with oriental ornament." Here is proof that it was possible to join in a dynamic structure of awe-inspiring size the first great telling expression through color of oriental mysticism with the last convincing manifestation through form of Greek intellectuality. Justinian in his most celebrated church brought together the pendentive dome on a square base, the mark architecturally of the creative spirit in the East, and the oblong basilica plan, the symbol architecturally of the old liturgical practice conserved in the West. The two could have been so effectively combined only under Justinian, and nowhere but in Constantinople. The measure of the genius of Anthemius and of the greatness of sixth century Byzantine culture is nowhere better taken than in the monument still standing after constant use through fourteen centuries. Mr. Swift, by producing his book on Hagia Sophia, earns the gratitude of all students and general readers who would become well acquainted with the supreme achievement of Byzantine architecture.

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ELIZABETH LAWRENCE MENDELL, *Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. 187; 140 ills. \$7.00.

In this volume, the second in the field of the history of art in the series of Yale Historical Publications, one of the regional divisions of the western school of French Romanesque sculpture receives its first detailed and extensive study. The sculpture of Saintonge has been dealt with previously in comprehensive studies of Romanesque art, such as Porter's

(*Historia Byzantina*, Paris, 1680, Book III) shows four columns. A reproduction of the Du Cange drawing and an English translation of the Latin text by Petrus Gyllius (Pierre Gilles, died 1555), the earliest modern description of Hagia Sophia, may be found in John Ball, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, London, 1729.

10. In *Architecture* (*The Professional Architectural Monthly*), XLVII, 1923, pp. 143-45, 183-85. The opinion is here advanced, based on a reading of Antoniadès, that the major constructional weakness of Anthemius' scheme is not in the lack of resistance to the outward displacement of the lateral bearing arches—this is Swift's opinion (pp. 24, 143-44)—but in the daring span of the transverse arches, buttressed though these were by semi-domes. The bearing arches (72 foot span) under the lateral arches have probably never fallen; the transverse arches (100 foot span) have several times fallen: the east in 558 and 1346, the west in 989. It should be noted that Conant finds (Swift, p. 144, n. 78) each lateral arch to be now about 1.15 m. out of plumb as a result of having "ridden out" with the piers, and that Jackson (*op. cit.*, p. 91) found "no bulging" (concavely to the nave?) in the masonry between the nave piers.

*Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* and Deschamps' *Romanesque Sculpture in France*, in which, however, it has been included for the sake of completeness rather than with the purpose of characterizing the style itself. C. Dangibeaud's "L'école de sculpture romane saintongaise" in the *Bulletin archéologique* for 1910 is more extensive and detailed, but somewhat colored by local patriotism.

The study of Saintongeais sculptural style begins with the Preface, in which the salient fact of a notable sparseness of documentary evidence concerning the monuments is developed and the general character of the investigation established. This is initiated in the Introduction with a definition of the geographical area involved—corresponding roughly to the department of Charente-Inférieure—and a brief survey of the history of the region from Roman times through the twelfth century. The chronological documentation of the style is then given in so far as it can be accurately applied to existing monuments; and relationships between abbeys and churches in Saintonge with others outside the region that have some bearing upon the understanding of the sculptural style are suggested.

The physical background of the sculpture is established in chapters on the Saintongeais *parti*, devoted to the architectural elements of the style, the chevet and the façade being the most important parts of the churches from the viewpoint of the building as a framework for sculptural ornament. Implicit in this discussion are the principles enunciated by Focillon in *L'art des sculpteurs romans*, to which the author gives explicit references *passim*. Two classes of church building are defined—the monastic foundations and the local or parish structures—the former being more developed architecturally and with many features relating them to styles outside Saintonge, while the local churches are almost purely indigenous in organization and show little if any influence of the abbeys. Of the two parts considered, the façade is the more important for sculptural decoration. The relationship of the Saintonge façade to the basic western type is pointed out, at the same time that the individual characteristics of the regional style are clarified—the three-story arrangement, large central portal with shallow blind arches flanking it, the second-story arcade—stressing throughout the importance of the arch as the basic element in the façade design. The chapters on the architectural *parti* constitute Part I of the book.

Part II—"The World of Sculpture in Saintonge"—deals with the subject matter found in the plastic ornament of the region. Figure sculpture falls into three classes—religious, anecdotal, and decorative—which are discussed at some length with particular emphasis on the part played by architectonic considerations in determining the popularity of certain subjects. Examples that seem to be among the earliest chronologically, such as the portal sculpture of S. Marie-des-Dames at Saintes, are characterized by a radiating arrangement imposed by the voussoir pattern of the arches, which thus invites the employment of such subjects as the Elders of the Apocalypse. A later development finds a change to compositions extended along the periphery of the arches,



and subjects that lend themselves to such treatment—the Wise and Foolish Virgins and the Psychomachia—replace the older themes. Churches at Chadenac, S. Pierre of Pont-l'Abbé, and Corme-Royal are outstanding examples of this type. Themes that appear in façade decoration occur but rarely elsewhere in the building, either on the chevet or in the interior where figure sculpture is limited for the most part to capitals. Daniel in the Lion's Den, the Weighing of Souls, the Holy Women at the Tomb, and the Temptation of Adam and Eve are among the subjects most frequently treated in this category. Anecdotal subjects and folklore figure in the ornament of arches and capitals but occur most frequently on the corbels supporting cornices of chevets and heavy mouldings on façades. Decorative figure sculpture, in which animal or human forms are simply formal motives related in processions and combats, or combined with vines in what are termed "fantastic compositions" are also of some importance, since the disposition of such sculpture can be dominated by considerations of emplacement to an extent usually impossible in iconographic themes. Stress is laid on the implications of Hispano-Moorish influence in the groups of lions and dogs attacking lambs on the façade at Chadenac.

Even more abundant than figure sculpture in all the three categories established is Saintongeais decoration consisting of flora and abstract elements. Floral designs are classified in two groups—those inherited from the Romans and those directly inspired by nature, while abstract motives are considered under the headings of architectonic, geometrical, and the interlace. In analyzing the various motives, the method developed by M. Jurgis Baltrušaitis is applied and defined with reference to Saintongeais examples, more particularly in considering floral motives of classic origin and the interlace. Carolingian manuscripts are adduced as a probable source for the last-mentioned which, furthermore, appears to have existed as a tradition of ornament separate from that of iconographic sculpture in the region. It is in the architectonic category, however, that the Saintongeais sculptor was most freely creative in the realm of abstract decoration.

"The Art of Sculpture in Saintonge" is the general heading of Part III, in which the distribution and placing of sculpture, compositional methods, figure style, technical characteristics of relief and modeling, and the effects attained thereby are discussed. Once more the essentially architectonic character of Saintongeais sculpture in disposition and arrangement are dwelt upon, and the importance of these considerations in the determination of figure style is developed. Figures in Saintongeais sculpture are giants or dwarfs or normal, using these terms in Focillon's sense, that is, descriptively rather than ethnographically. Such development as can be established in the somewhat tenuous chronology of Saintonge would appear to indicate an early preference for figures of more arbitrary proportions—dwarfs and giants—which gradually develops into a more normal canon. Among the earliest examples are four capitals found on the site of S. Martin at Saujon and three which are in or from S. Eutrope of Saintes in which the

dwarf type of figure predominates. Similarly conceived figures occur in archivolt decoration of the radial type, but when this architectural form is composed in extension, the figures are more nearly normal in proportion. Relationships with monuments outside the Saintonge area—Fontevault, Moissac, S. Pierre at Aulnay, Angoulême, and Ruffec—are mentioned, as well as affinities with closer examples in Bordelais, and one atelier seems to have worked at both Chadenac and Blasimon. Technically, sculpture in Saintonge seems to have begun with low relief and relatively little modeling and to have developed progressively toward a higher projection and more complex treatment of surfaces, though never attaining the multiplicity of planes or the animation of contour that characterizes the schools of Burgundy or Languedoc. Here again it is the preëminently architectural conception of sculpture with its insistence upon a relative simplicity and uniformity of plane, that must be kept in mind as a fundamental factor in the Saintongeais attitude. This, in its ultimate phase, produces none the less an effect that is one of light and shade rather than of sculptural mass serving to integrate architectonic form—Focillon's "Romanesque Baroque"; and this evolution proceeds independently of the contemporary developments taking place in the centers of vital creation in the Ile-de-France.

In limiting herself rigorously to the geographically, chronologically, and stylistically restricted field of Romanesque sculpture dealt with in this study, the author has been placed in positions both to her advantage and disadvantage. Foremost among the latter is the question of the larger relationships of Saintongeais style to what are admitted to be the more rich and dramatic manners of Languedoc and Burgundy—relationships that are touched upon, it is true, but which the student of Romanesque art would gladly have seen discussed at greater length than has here been attempted. It is disappointing to encounter, for example, on page 78 a footnote directing the reader's attention to a comparison between a capital at Vézelay and that of Daniel and the Lions at Saujon, and yet to find no reference to the group of capitals of the same subject to be seen in the cloister at Moissac, and in the Musée des Augustins and S. Sernin in Toulouse. One could wish as well that note, at least, were taken of the obviously Burgundian qualities in the style of the capital of the Three Marys at the Tomb also at Saujon. An interesting point bearing on the flame-haired demons of the capital representing the Weighing of the Souls at S. Eutrope at Saintes could have been made by referring to observations on this feature made by Helen Woodruff ("The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius," *Art Studies*, vii, 1929, 33-79) and C. R. Morey (*The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence*, i, 172), who noted its occurrence in capital figures at Moissac as well, another parallel that must ultimately be recognized as one of considerable significance. The omission even from the bibliography of these two studies which are fundamental to any discussion of Romanesque art in the west of France cannot be overlooked, especially in view of the importance of Miss Woodruff's study of the iconography of the Psychomachia.

Along this same line, Walter W. S. Cook's investigation of the scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre ("The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia," *ART BULLETIN*, x, 1927) might aptly have been cited and its conclusions applied to the examples to be found in Saintonge.

A handicap to the usefulness of the book is the relative sparseness of detailed illustrations of the various monuments discussed. To mention but a few instances of this, the importance of Chadenac, dwelt upon at some length on pp. 68-69, is not indicated by the illustrations which are limited to two plates. S. Pierre at Pont-l'Abbé, Biron, Talmont, and Les Essards are all discussed with reference to minute details of subject and style that are not visible in the illustrations provided. Monuments outside of Saintonge proper—notably S. Pierre at Aulnay—might well have been reproduced in view of the copious references thereto in the text. Restrictions of this character are probably a consequence of the necessity of essential economies in publishing, on the one hand, and on the other, of the difficulty (known all too well to the reviewer) of obtaining good photographs of subjects in the small rural communities in which the majority of these monuments are found. These difficulties could have been compensated in some degree, however, by specific references to plates in Porter's *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, where many of the details in question are reproduced, or to those in Deschamps' *Romanesque Sculpture in France*, which might well have been included in the bibliography for this reason alone if for no other.

The outstanding advantage accruing from the limitation of the subject of this study is the opportunity thus provided for a definitive study of the Romanesque attitude within a frame uninvaded by the problems of nationalistic controversy that have obscured so effectively the principal issues of the larger problems of sculptural style in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The necessity of cutting through the strands of polemic that enmesh the more spectacular manifestations of Romanesque style is not encountered here; formal vocabulary and expressive aims are accordingly capable of clear definition to an extent that can only be envied by the student of Spanish, Languedocian, Burgundian, or Lombard style. For this reason, Mrs. Mendell's study will have a certain if modest place in the literature of Romanesque plastic expression, in spite of what seem to this reviewer to be unfortunate omissions. It is, furthermore, an historic document in that it represents the influence upon the study of medieval archaeology in the United States of an increasingly fruitful and creative attitude on the part of French scholars—an attitude which will produce in time a body of hitherto unused data, whose bearing upon the more dramatic aspects of Romanesque art will go far toward resolving what have appeared to be insoluble problems. For all the vast literature dealing with French Romanesque sculpture, the number of unknown or improperly evaluated monuments is great, as Gudiol's recent photographic survey of relatively limited areas in the southwest has shown. When the results of study of these monuments—for the most part modest

parish churches such as are dealt with in this monograph—are available, and the various investigations of manuscript evolution that have been promised are at hand, it will be possible to arrive at a new and more truthful concept of much that now seems hopelessly beclouded.

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KENNETH ROMNEY TOWNDROW, *Alfred Stevens: A Biography with New Material*. Pp. xxviii + 294; 42 ills. Constable, London, 1939. 21 s. net.

"My Monument will remain standing when St. Paul's is in ruins." Today, the chancel of the Cathedral is wrecked, the north transept destroyed; but Stevens' masterpiece, the monument to Wellington, with its great bronze groups of *Valour and Cowardice*, and *Truth and Falsehood*, crowned by the mounted figure of the Duke, still stands untouched. That monument commemorates not only a great soldier, but also the patience and courage of an artist who in the teeth of ill health, of the apathy of his contemporaries, and of official stupidity and hostility, carried through one of the greatest pieces of architectural sculpture of the nineteenth century. Stevens' words were no boast, but a simple record of the fact that a master craftsman had put into his work everything that he knew. In an age of jealous specialization in the arts, when technical traditions and knowledge were being neglected or forgotten, Stevens stands beside William Morris as a descendant of those medieval or Renaissance artists who added to creative imagination a manual skill which could master any material with equal ease and confidence. Stevens was not only a sculptor in marble, bronze, and wood, but could put his hand to designing a medal, a fireback, a stove, a knife, or a piece of pottery. He was a brilliant draughtsman, an accomplished painter and interior decorator, and even on occasion turned architect, though no building by him was ever erected. There was nothing he asked an assistant or workman to do, that he could not do better himself, always with the power of evoking the special qualities of the material concerned. But with him, as with Morris, an art was more than an opportunity for dexterity or a means of self-expression; it was a means to making beautiful something that served a purpose. His drawings, for example, were never ends in themselves, but part of the endless study and experiment which went to the creation of something else.

It may well be asked why this remarkable figure should be so little known. Often, he is confused with that charming confectioner of Parisian society genre, the Belgian Alfred Stevens; and it is even said that after Stevens' death, the Royal Academy elected as an Associate a mediocre West Country sculptor, E. B. Stephens, under the impression that he was the maker of the Wellington Memorial. Ignorance is partly due to much of Stevens' work having been destroyed, to some of it being inaccessible, and to some of it not being recognized as his. Chiefly, his decorative work has suffered. The ceilings at Deysbrook Hall, near Liverpool, have been partly white-

washed, and are in a neglected state; Dorchester House, the dining-room of which was Stevens' most ambitious project in interior decoration, has been pulled down; and the decoration of the hall and staircase at Melchet Court was destroyed by fire. Examples of work almost forgotten as being by him are the stoves, fireplaces, fenders, etc. designed for firms in Sheffield and Coalbrookdale; the superb seated lions intended for the gate posts of the British Museum, but now placed in front of the Record Office; and the pediment and pavement of St. George's Hall, Liverpool, which Cockerell the architect commissioned from Stevens.

Another factor contributing to forgetfulness, is the large amount of Stevens' work which was never completed. Doors for the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street, decorated with a series of fine bas-reliefs, were never cast; nor were two medals designed for the Department of Science and Art. A monument to commemorate the exhibition of 1851 only exists in model form, like a series of sculptures intended to be placed beneath the dome of St. Paul's; while the decorations designed for the dome itself, which were to have been carried out by Stevens' pupil, Hugh Stannus, were after Stevens' death rejected by the Cathedral authorities. A scheme to decorate the cupola of the British Museum Reading Room never got farther than a series of designs, as was the case with the plans for a School of Art in Sheffield, for a group of new Government offices, and for the Victoria and Albert Museum in Bombay.

Finally, Stevens has not been well served by his biographers. Certainly their task was made difficult by his executor's destroying all personal letters, memoranda, and documents. Armstrong's *Biographical Study*, published in 1881, contains a few penetrating judgments, but is superficial. More substantial is the book published in 1891 by Hugh Stannus, Stevens' devoted pupil and assistant, who was able to supplement his own knowledge with information from Stevens' executor and life-long friend, Alfred Pegler. But Stannus was too near to Stevens to see him in the round, and too inexperienced as an historian and writer to use his material to advantage. The one man, D. S. MacColl, who could write a definitive biography and estimate of Stevens has unfortunately never had time to do so. Not only has he collected much material, previously unknown, which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum; but in a series of articles published over a long period, he has shown a mastery in weighing evidence, a depth of understanding, and a balance in judgment, far beyond other writers. To him, more than any other man, is due the garnering into museums of much of Stevens' finest work; and it was his courage and persistence which brought about the completion in 1912 of the Wellington Monument by the placing in position of the bronze equestrian figure of the Duke, cast in bronze by John Tweed from Stevens' full-size model.

Mr. Towndrow does not wear the mantle of Elijah easily. He has scanned most of the available sources, human and documentary, and has produced a sympathetic and reasonably systematic presentation of the facts. It is not certain, however, that more could

not be dug up. For instance, the conflicting accounts of Stevens' journeyings in Italy might be cleared up by search at the Italian end, which does not appear to have been made. But as a biography, Mr. Towndrow's book is likely to remain for some time the most convenient and authoritative one. What is now wanted is a systematic survey and intensive analysis of Stevens' work; and until that is made the full value and significance of his production cannot be properly estimated.

Yet there is easily accessible enough of his finished work to establish him as a great master. To realize that only needs a visit to St. Paul's, where in addition to the Wellington Monument can be seen the figures of prophets in mosaic, designed by Stevens, which fill four spandrels of the dome. Only one of these, the *Isaiah*, was finished under Stevens' own supervision, and he was not satisfied with it. But in the poor mosaic translations of his cartoons the grandeur of his designs can be realized, and their admirable response to the lines of Wren's architecture. As Mr. MacColl says in his preface to Mr. Towndrow's book "... He was practically forced, by the conditions of subject and shape, to tread closely in the steps of the most formidable of masters ... Michael Angelo was before him. But even from that challenge he comes off undefeated."

In museums, as would be expected, the collections consist largely of drawings, sketches, projects, and models both small and full size, though the great caryatids for the dining-room mantelpiece at Dorchester House, now in the Tate Gallery, are complete and independent evidence of Stevens' genius as a sculptor, torn though they are from their original setting. It is in the museums, however, that Stevens as a painter can best be seen. Such works as the large cartoon in oil on canvas, representing a seated woman and a boy bending a bow, made for Dorchester House, cannot fairly be judged in isolation, though they witness to Stevens' powers as a designer and colorist. It is in his portraits that Stevens' measure as a painter may best be taken. Here, his masters were the Venetians, and in particular Titian, from whom he made many copies while he was in Italy. His *Mary Ann Collman*, now in the National Gallery, ranks as one of the finest portraits ever painted in England. Subtle in design, sculptural in handling, full of rich yet reticent harmonies, it challenges in vigor and feeling for personality any portrait in the great gallery in which it hangs.

The failure of his contemporaries to realize the stature of Stevens, and the large amount of work by him that never came to fruition, were no doubt partly due to the character of the man. Of his complete integrity, both as man and artist, there can be no question; and it is one of Mr. Towndrow's merits that he produces plenty of evidence to make this clear. But even such a considerate and generous patron as Holford, the owner of Dorchester House, found him difficult. To be kept waiting seventeen years for a piece of work, and then for it to be unfinished, justifies impatience in any man. Stevens' desire for perfection led to endless hesitations and to revisions of anything he undertook, though he was a swift worker. Apparently, too, he lacked the ability



to choose really competent assistants, or to use them wisely; and in order to keep himself alive while working on a major enterprise, undoubtedly took on more miscellaneous work than a man with his standards and methods could well accomplish. Added to this was constant ill health in his later years, the result mainly of overwork.

Obviously, Stevens was the last man to work happily for a government department, with its inevitable call for work to be done according to schedule, and within limits of an estimate. But even so, the dealings of the Office of Works with Stevens over the Wellington Monument make a shabby story, rivaling those of the heirs of Julius II with Michelangelo over the monument to the Pope, though mercifully with a less disastrous outcome. In truth, Stevens was wholly out of tune with his age. The Industrial Revolution was working itself out in England, with increasing use of machinery and of standardization in production. Artists such as Turner and Constable could survive by virtue of a few private patrons free to gratify their own tastes. But at a time when art was ceasing to be part of the texture of life, and was becoming an agreeable superfluity, an artist like Stevens, whose work was mainly designed to serve the everyday activities of men, and had no meaning in a *hortus inclusus* which such painters as the Pre-Raphaelites built for themselves, was almost destined for neglect and indifference. The extraordinary thing is not his failures, but his achievements.

His training, too, was not such as to secure him ready acceptance in England. Born in 1817 at Blendsford, Dorset, the son of a joiner, household decorator, and painter, he was reared from early years in a workshop. His precocity as a draughtsman and painter attracted some attention, and nearly led to his becoming a pupil of Landseer. Saved from that fate by the high fee demanded, he was sent off to Italy at the age of sixteen, with £60 in his pocket, without introductions, and knowing no Italian. Here he remained nine years, visiting many places, and apparently keeping himself alive by selling sketches, making copies, and working for other artists. The stay in Italy was intended to train him as a painter; and the copies he made in Rome and Venice with the watercolor sketches of Italian subjects, sold after his death, witness considerable activity. Also, it is significant that while a master from 1845 to 1847 at the Government School of Design in London, he taught painting. How and where he learned to become a sculptor, and in particular a stone-cutter, is a mystery. Certainly he rapidly became proficient, for in 1841 and 1842 he was employed as an assistant by Thorwaldsen in Rome, and only gave up the work when Thorwaldsen himself left Rome. Incidentally, it was at this time he designed a house for an American client, shipping the marble work for it to America. One wonders where that house and marble work may now be.

Thus, when he returned to England in 1842, Stevens could point to no orthodox academic training, and brought with him no outward and visible evidences of his ability, except some sketches and copies. What he had done was to soak himself in the tradition and methods of medieval and Renaissance

Italian art, and to go behind this to Rome and Greece. Mr. Towndrow does not emphasize sufficiently the potential influence of the first two years in Italy, which were spent in Naples. While there, he is known to have visited Pompeii; and, more important, the royal collections of Greek and Roman sculpture were open to him. Assumption of a knowledge and understanding of antique sculpture helps to explain much in Stevens. It would restrain a tendency to "go Gothic" which might easily have developed from his visits to Siena and Florence; it would check a tendency towards the aridities of the neo-classicism of his time; and finally, would prevent his falling into mannerism, as did other students of Michelangelo and Raphael. With these pitfalls avoided, Stevens was able to identify himself completely with the spirit of the High Renaissance, and to express that spirit in terms of his own personality and of his own time.

It is sometimes said that Stevens was a *pasticheur*, a mere disher-up of motives taken from Italian Renaissance art. Those who make the charge have evidently never looked at Stevens' work attentively. Neither in design nor detail is there any specific resemblance to the work of his forerunners. Where he borrows, as in ornamental motives, he borrows from the antique, thereby following ancient precedent. The likeness to Renaissance work is there; but it is a likeness in spirit, in ideals, and not in superficial traits. Sometimes the ideas and conventions of his own day were too much for Stevens. His decorative schemes are apt to be lifeless; while his furniture and industrial designs, though always well proportioned and practical, are often heavy in a peculiarly Victorian way. But it is by his major works that he must be judged; and in them, energy and vitality add fire to bold imagination and fine craftsmanship, to justify their maker's being regarded as among the greatest artists of England.

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YNEZ GHIRARDELLI, *The Artist, H. Daumier: Interpreter of History*, San Francisco, The Grabhorn Press, 1940. Pp. vi+78; 20 pls. \$15.00.

From the vast storehouse of Daumier's production, Miss Ghirardelli has isolated twenty lithographs and has discussed their importance as historical documents of the artist's epoch. If one must quarrel with the author's program as announced in her Introduction, it would be to say that Daumier's printed works, numbering over four thousand items and depicting every phase of French life, can scarcely be adequately appraised by the analysis of so small a sample. It may also be justly said that while the present book gathers much useful information regarding the historical aspects of Daumier's lithographs, the program is not especially novel. One thinks immediately of Fritz Stahl's study (*Honoré Daumier*, published in Berlin in 1930), in which the text is quite brief and where the selection of illustrations is expanded to some four score well-chosen lithographs illustrating every aspect of the master's work. Such a group is large enough to permit ade-

quate study and demonstrate the scope of this artist as the chief reporter of his epoch. Our author's choice of thesis places before her the task of treating a complicated subject with both originality and comprehensiveness. This reviewer must confess to some degree of disappointment in both of these respects.

Miss Ghirardelli has divided her work into two sections. The first of these—"Daumier: Man and Artist"—is devoted to a compilation of facts dealing with the artist's life and work before and after 1848. The second part—"Daumier: Man of his Time"—discusses the significance of ten lithographs before 1848, ten lithographs after 1848, and a résumé underscoring the artist as the interpreter of history. The book is handsomely printed and the illustrations are excellent.

One cannot take too much exception to the recitation of the artist's career. The few known facts are contained in most works on the artist and we are not given many new ones, but some that are well known have been further amplified. Here, at any rate, the author is on safe ground, and she has taken care to quote her authorities in the very copious notes which appear at the end of the volume. One cannot so easily accept her apparent lack of precision when dealing with the authenticity of certain works quoted. Thus, such important pictures as the *Third-Class Railway Carriage*, *The Street Singers*, *The Laundress*, *The Smokers* and a score of others are mentioned without further designation. It has become increasingly clear to students of Daumier that the utmost caution must be exercised in accepting as his all the paintings which have, from time to time, been gathered under his banner. If one discusses the artist's work in terms of certain pictures it becomes imperative to indicate to the reader to which version or versions reference is made. To avoid this duty is to undermine the soundness of the argument which is advanced.

One can support this criticism by quoting from a section in which the artist's method is described. The author says: "The *Don Quichotte* series has a further importance because of the artist's unusual method of treatment of his material. In these paintings he seems to have adopted something of the oriental method of painting. He emphasizes the contours and outlines of the figures by a bold and expressive use of line. This novel treatment of an imaginative subject resulted in a series of paintings quite different from most of the rest of his work." It would have helped to know which specific pictures illustrate these characteristics. One such *Don Quichotte* has recently figured in an important exhibition without having the slightest connection with Daumier's epoch. Many will also find it impossible to agree that the *Don Quichotte* series differs technically from the treatment to be observed in any of the artist's other subjects, nor will they understand the reason for assuming that Daumier borrowed from the oriental method of painting. Rather would it seem that Daumier's use of line in the construction of his paintings was the result of a technical handicap.

Everyone will immediately concede that Daumier was one of the greatest draughtsmen of all time. Linear representation with him resulted from a functional

urge which encountered no mechanical obstacles. Aided by his keen observation and a stupendous visual memory, he was able to crystallize with a few lines the smallest gesture made by his actors. This same facility is to be observed with equal force and directness in Daumier's watercolors but it cannot be said to exist in his work in the oil medium. Daumier's painting in oil, while it may have been his first love, was nevertheless an experience of his later years. It seems clear that the artist's facility with this medium never approached the deftness which he enjoyed on the lithographic stone or in the realm of watercolor. Countless examples exist indicating that Daumier's pictures emerged laboriously from a framework of lines over which thin glazes of pigment sought to create an illusion of solidity and volume. The method had nothing to do with oriental painting but was entirely personal and unique in its epoch.

It is due to the artist's shortcomings with the oil medium that his paintings have darkened and not, as the author indicates, because he used the "mixed medium of oil painting." It is obvious that if glazes are superimposed one upon the other an undesirable amount of medium must be used. This, in time, will cause the pigment to darken. This is especially true in the areas where blacks and browns have been employed, and as these tones tend to predominate in many of Daumier's pictures, the low key which we associate with his works results.

Miss Ghirardelli, in attempting to analyse Daumier's importance as a painter, has seemed to rely too greatly on previous opinions without, perhaps, confronting these critically with the body of the artist's works. The author refers to the "fine harmony between figures and background" in the artist's pictures. While the authority cited for this statement is generally reliable, it is hard to find many examples in which such a relationship exists as the result of conscious effort. The *Crispin et Scapin*, of the Louvre, one of the master's greatest works, contains the barest suggestion of a background which can be said to serve the ends of design. In authentic works of Daumier the background or *mise-en-scène* follows, as a rule, the demands of Daumier's kind of reporting. It is simplified and serves to place the action in a given locale. Where elaborately-conceived landscapes frame the action, it is not always certain that Daumier is responsible for the work in question. Indeed, elaboration in backgrounds, along with smartly-painted surfaces, offer problems which, by their very nature, tend to have little connection with Daumier's mentality.

It also seems odd that in reviewing Daumier's sources, Rubens should have been omitted, for in this master more than in others Daumier had the opportunity to find a style which suited his own temperament. This relationship would seem closer than that to Velasquez which is pointed out or, indeed, than Daumier's suggested indebtedness to Michelangelo. With Velasquez we sense a direct method, whereas many of Rubens' unfinished sketches show a linear framework out of which plastic reality was created. As for Michelangelo's influence, one wonders where Daumier could have had the opportunity to study this master at first hand. Daumier traveled

little and to the best of our knowledge was never in Italy. Miss Ghirardelli suggests that Daumier was the "avowed brother of Millet"—but surely she must have seen only the most superficial resemblance between these two artists. Oddly enough, Corot's relationship to Daumier is not developed, and yet these two friends had a tremendous influence one upon the other. The chronology of Daumier's paintings will require time to establish but it becomes more certain that the solidly-painted pictures must date from the end of his career. Not a few of these show marked resemblance to Corot's method.

Chapters III and IV of Miss Ghirardelli's book are valuable and well presented. In these she has assembled from a variety of historical and other sources material which explains the meaning of the ten early lithographs and ten late lithographs she has selected. This section of the book is so well done that one wishes that the author had amplified it further, possibly at the expense of the earlier chapters. This would have permitted a wider selection of lithographs and the consequent inclusion of such stones as *Celui-là on peut le mettre en liberté*, *Le ventre législatif*, *Enfoncé Lafayette . . . Attrape mon vieux*, and the famous *Gargantua* of 1831, for which Daumier was confined in the prison of S. Pélagie. Without referring to personal enthusiasms, one could cite other works whose political significance might have warranted their inclusion in Miss Ghirardelli's discussion.

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LUCIA MOHOLY, *A Hundred Years of Photography*, Harmondsworth (Middlesex, England), Penguin Books Limited, 1939. Pp. 182; 35 ill. 25 cents.

The chief value of this inexpensive book is the indication which it furnishes of the present state of the history of photography. For Mrs. Moholy's essay is quite frankly an outline of the existing literature of the subject, from the sociological and artistic approaches. The book was intended to appeal to a wide audience; space restrictions and the demands of the publisher quite evidently precluded independent research.

The text follows a pattern established by previous historians—Eder, Pottoniée, Freund, and the present reviewer—of dividing the first century of photography into convenient periods of technical development. Discussion of each period is introduced with a brief description of the technique, and then followed by an account of certain of the workers who flourished in the years covered. This categorizing tends to submerge personalities. Brady, for example, is discussed under the section embraced by the wet collodion process (1851 to ca. 1880-89) together with Fenton, as a war photographer. The daguerreotype work of Brady, for which he was internationally famous, is mentioned only parenthetically. Certain workers, of course, fall neatly enough into technical classifications. D. O. Hill, for example, is known only by his calotypes, and while there may be evidence that he worked in collodion, this output has not been identified and his fame rests upon his earlier work.

But such a photographer as Charles Marville, overlooked by Mrs. Moholy together with many of his colleagues, is equally important as a calotype and as a wet plate worker.

While it is true that in no other form of picture-making is technique so integral a part of the artist's work as in photography, we feel that this division of the subject does not permit the reader to grasp the full artistic value of the medium. A study of its stylistic development is urgently needed, and it is a constant source of wonder to us that this fruitful field of research has been so persistently ignored by historians of art. It seems surprising that, among the hundreds of scholarly monographs on artists, only one is devoted to a photographer.<sup>1</sup> As Max Lehrs pointed out, in one of the few contributions on photography to be found in the literature of art history,<sup>2</sup> the nineteenth century cannot be understood unless photography is taken into account. Ignorance of photography has caused more than one specialist in the paintings of that century to draw conclusions which are false, and to attribute to painters influences which did not exist at the time they were working.

Mrs. Moholy's book is not, unfortunately, a contribution to this stylistic study. She ignores completely the important controversies of the mid-century regarding focusing as an artistic control. She fails to show how P. H. Emerson in the 1880's reacted against the artificiality of the school of genre photographers who, under the leadership of H. P. Robinson, imitated with the camera the Dutch "little masters" and their English nineteenth-century followers. She does not do justice to the rise of "pictorialism," the formation of the Linked Ring and Photo-Secession societies, the rise of the "New American School" of the early twentieth century.

It is particularly unfortunate that she is so ignorant of the work of Alfred Stieglitz that she dismisses him in these lines: "Alfred Stieglitz, born in U.S.A. in 1864, studied photography in Germany, and went back to America in 1890. He specialised in street photographs, in series of cloud pictures and night photographs. He has been editor of several photographic journals." In the entire history of photography there are few masters who can be compared to Stieglitz—Hill, Atget, Nadar in his earlier period, may possibly equal his results, yet none of these workers show his versatility or his constant experimentation. The beautiful periodical which he not only edited but published, *Camera Notes*, does not even appear in Mrs. Moholy's bibliography. Yet for this alone Stieglitz was awarded by the Royal Photographic Society its highest honor, the Progress Medal. His efforts, more than those of any other single worker, set a stylistic pattern in photography which the historian is obliged to trace.

But this is not to say that the book is valueless to the art historian. The demonstration that photography crystallized in 1839 not from the impetus of science, but in answer to the demands of the bourgeoisie for a facile and rapid method of creating

1. Heinrich Schwarz, *David Octavius Hill*, New York, 1931.

2. "Daguerreotypen," *Zeitschrift f. bildende Kunst*, xxviii, 1917, 181-96.



pictures, is clear and well documented. The influence of photography upon the other arts is hinted at; the photographer's place in society, both independently and in contrast to "accepted" artists, is evaluated. This discussion should prove, if proof at this date be still needed, that photography is indeed an art form and as such deserves consideration as a part of art

history. Photographers, critics, and even the historians themselves have but incomplete pictures of photography's tradition. The need for chronicling and interpreting this tradition is real; the challenge clear; the field comparatively untouched.

BEAUMONT NEWHALL  
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## LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

MEHMET AGA-OGLU, *Safawid Rugs and Textiles, The Collection of the Shrine of Imām 'Alī at Al-Najaf*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 59; 28 plates + 14 figs. \$7.00.

*Antioch on-the-Orontes, III: The Excavations 1937-1939*, edited by Richard Stillwell, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. viii + 260; 92 plates + 104 figs. \$20.00.

*The George Grey Barnard Collection*, a catalogue by Martin Weinberger, New York, Robinson Galleries, Inc., 1941. Pp. xi + 66; 62 plates. \$8.50.

OSCAR BRONEER, *The Lion Monument at Amphiopolis*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. xvii + 76; 11 plates + 37 figs. \$2.50.

AUGUSTO CENTENO, ed., *The Intent of the Artist*. Articles by Sherwood Anderson, Thornton Wilder, Roger Sessions, William Lescaze. Princeton,

Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. 162 + 8 sketches. \$2.50.

H. PHELPS CLAWSON, *By Their Works*, Buffalo, Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, 1941. Pp. xxi + 236; 107 plates. \$4.00.

KARL B. LOHMANN, *Landscape Architecture in the Modern World*, Champaign, Ill., The Garrard Press, 1941. Pp. 162; 92 figs. \$2.50.

ERWIN PANOFSKY, *The Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory (Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. 13)*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1940. Pp. 138; 117 figs.

*The Paintings of Jan Vermeer*, with text by Thomas Bodkin (*Phaidon Edition*). New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. 14; 51 plates (15 in color). \$3.50.